

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOI/PA  
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET  
FOI/PA# 1214327-0

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X Deleted Page(s) X  
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X For this Page X  
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-23-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL  
SAC, Buffalo (157-047)

Director, FBI (100-447251)

1 -  
1 -

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Reurlet 8/30/68.

The transcript of the subject's speech submitted by your Office is being referred to the Internal Security and Criminal Divisions of the Department for prosecutive opinions and you will be informed of the results.

You are requested to obtain the identity of the individual who taped the subject's speech and the identities of any witnesses who might be willing to testify. Insure that the original tape is retained by some responsible official in the Xerox Corporation for possible future use. Furnish this information by letterhead memorandum for referral to the Department.

You are also requested to furnish a copy of the tape to the Bureau. If a copy cannot be conveniently made by your Office, submit the one in your possession so that it can be copied at the Bureau.

The New York Office should open cases on

The facts suggest that these individuals may be at least sympathetic to black extremists. Determine their connection with the Black Panther Party or any other black extremist group and make recommendations as to whether their names should be included in the Security Index and/or Agitator Index.

- 2 - New York (100-161321)  
1 - San Francisco (100-55520)

RMH:fhd (8)

19 SEP 5 1968

EX-105

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

56 SEP 11 1968  
MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

380 JAN 8-51 1

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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A. Edgar Hoover  
Director

The following DATE 11-23-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINT	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
PD Los Angeles Calif	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver Jr. #5348 W 10	10-31-52	susp Narc Act felony delinq	212 rel to custody of Preston School of Industry Los Angeles
SO Los Angeles Calif	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver Jr. #B-245360	11-5-52	700 M WIC-Narc	St Prison D45 6-9-54 (Cs162601) on chg of susp 11500 H & S
PD Los Angeles Calif	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver Jr #227400	2-13-54	susp Narc Act (felony)	rel to custody of Calif Inst for Men Chico Calif
SO Los Angeles Calif	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver Jr. #B-245360/ B-305551	2-16-54	poss of narc (M)	6 mos to 10 yrs 12-3-56 paroled 6-12-68 par
Calif St Bu	Leroy E Cleaver #A-29498	6-18-54	poss Narc (11500 H & S Code)	St Pr cc cc w/ unexpired parole time, Ct 6-13-54 3-11-58 Cs162601 Fnd Gltly ADW/1c Murd (Ct 4-1-58) Fnd Gltly ADW (Ct 4-1-58)
PD Los Angeles Calif	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver Jr. #1A 227 400 C	11-3-57 11-4-57	susp aslt with int to murder viol St Parole Gltly D44 Fnd Gltly ADW/1c Murd (Ct 4-1-58) Fnd Gltly ADW (Ct 4-1-58)	rel to custody of Calif Inst for Men Chico Calif
SO Los Angeles Calif	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver #B-245360/ B-515769	11-6-57	aslt w/1 commit mur-aslt w/1 commit rape (2 cts) & aslt w/ deadly weapon (2 cts)	rel to custody of Calif Inst for Men Chico Calif

NOT RECORDED

6 SEP 5 1968

NOTATIONS ARE NOT BASED ON FINGERPRINTS IN FBI FILES. The notations are based on data furnished the Bureau concerning individuals of the same or similar names or aliases and ARE LISTED ONLY AS

54 SEP 11 1968

10-11-60-2 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

000 JAN 8-29-68

2

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
Director

The following FBI record, NUMBER **214 830 B**, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
St Bu Sacramento Calif	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver #A-29498-A	3-20-58	PV (aslt with intent to commit murder 4 cts & aslt w/a deadly weapon with prior felony conviction with present pled & proven term. each ct, all con- current & concurrent with present term)	6 mos to 14 yrs 4 cts & 6 mos to 10 yrs all concurrent & concurrent with present term.
PD Sacramento Calif	<del>Eldridge Cleaver</del> #S-14017	5-2-67	182.1 PC Black Panther	rel per Dist Atty no complaint Mart Calif St-Bar Rel from custody both on 5-3-67
PD Oakland Calif	Elridge Cleaver #200160	4-7-68	3 cts 187 PC (att murder)	
SO Oakland Calif	Elridge Cleaver #68/4563 Business Address: San Francisco, California	4-25-68	att 187 PC 2 cts & 245B PC 2 cts	
Calif St Bu	<del>Leroy E. Cleaver</del> #A29498A Residence: Vacaville, California	4-7-68	PV	To Finish Term
SO Oakland Calif	Eldridge Cleaver #68-4065 Business Address: San Francisco, California	4-10-68	217 PC 3 cts & prior (asslt w/int to kill)	dism & TOT 68-4563

Notations indicated by \* ARE NOT BASED ON FINGERPRINTS IN FBI Rec. The notations are based on data furnished this Bureau concerning individuals of the same or similar names or aliases and ARE LISTED ONLY AS INVESTIGATIVE LEADS.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20537

OSO JAD 8-28-68

3

The following FBI record, NUMBER 214 830 B, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY. Information shown on this Identification Record represents data furnished FBI by fingerprint contributors. WHERE FINAL DISPOSITION IS NOT SHOWN OR FURTHER EXPLANATION OF CHARGE IS DESIRED, COMMUNICATE WITH AGENCY CONTRIBUTING THOSE FINGERPRINTS.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
SO Fairfield Calif	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver #68975  Residence: 850 Oak Street	6-12-68	3 cts 187 Murder Warrant 3 cts 245b PC Assault w/ deadly weapon warrant  San Francisco Calif	

Notations indicated by \* are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as being possibly identical with subject of this record.

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

020 208 940-0

J. T. Morgan  
Director.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
	<p>FLASH: If arrested prior to 3-20-71 Notify Div of Adult Par Dept of Corr Sacramento Calif inf rec 12-20-66.</p>			

Notations indicated by \* are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as being possibly identical with subject of this record.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20537

090 JAN 8-30 6.

4/8/30

1-BU

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The following FBI record, NDATE 11-23-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHLK.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
	SECURITY FLASH: <u>Leroy Eldridge Cleaver</u> . Any information or inquiry received refer one copy of record to Subversive Control Section Domestic Intelligence Division and two copies to BFD San Francisco File #100-55520 Bu File #100-447251 inf rec 6-2-67. Aliases: Eldridge Cleaver.			
	<div>804-7</div>			
THIS PAGE SHOULD NOT BE DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE FBI				

b6  
b7C

Information shown on this Identification Record represents data furnished FBI by fingerprint contributors. Where final disposition is not shown or further explanation of charge is desired, communicate with agency contributing those fingerprints.

Notations indicated by \* are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as being possibly identical with subject of this record.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20537

686 JAN 8-68

214 830 B

The following FBI record, NUMBER \_\_\_\_\_, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.  
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WITH AGENCY CONTRIBUTING THOSE FINGERPRINTS.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
CC: Internal Sec Section Dom Intell Div ✓				
CC: FBI San Francisco Calif				
Copy of record, copy of photo, and copy of fingerprints were furnished SPel East Lansing Michigan 48823 as identical with subject of their inquiry dated 8-14-68.				
THIS PAGE SHOULD NOT BE DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE FBI				

Notations indicated by \* are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as  
being possibly identical with subject of this record.

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

VIA TELETYPE  
AUG 8 1968  
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter\_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy\_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 02-21-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DG/EHL

DEFERRED 8-8-68 334PM PM HST JRF

TO DIRECTOR AND SAN FRANCISCO

ENCODED

FROM HONOLULU

LEREOY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER; RACIAL MATTERS DASH BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

RE BURAD TO HONOLULU AUGUST SEVEN, LAST.

THIS DATE

AND

☐ ADVISED THAT CLEAVER WAS NOT GRANTED PERMISSION TO DEPART  
CALIFORNIA BY PAROLE AUTHORITIES AND THEREFORE WOULD NOT BE  
ARRIVING HONOLULU THIS DATE. HIS WIFE IS SCHEDULED TO SPEAK  
IN HONOLULU IN HIS PLACE THIS EVENING AND AUGUST TEN, NEXT.

END

RNK FBI WASH DC

EX-103

TELETYPED TO:

FTB

66 AUG 19 1968

Telephonically furnished  
to [redacted] 1010 at  
9-20 8/9/68. gr  
34807

REC-76

100-447251-45X  
157-95995

CC A to Crim, IDIU, ISA 4 AUG 12 1968  
8/9/68 by R/S  
Htt/rb

b6  
b7C

5-gth

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-23-2005 BY 60309 AUC T/ET/EHL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-2323)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM-BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
OO: San Francisco

Re San Francisco teletype to Director dated  
7/26/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of a letter-  
head memorandum (LHM) suitable for dissemination captioned  
as above.

Copies of the LHM are being furnished locally  
to U.S. Attorney, and Secret Service. Copies are also  
furnished to local military agencies.

Identity of source referred to in the enclosed  
LHM is [redacted]

Information copy of the enclosed LHM is being  
furnished to San Francisco inasmuch as San Francisco  
is the office of origin in captioned matter.

The LHM is classified confidential since information  
furnished from source could reasonably result in identification  
of a confidential source of continuing value and compromise  
future effectiveness.

EX-104

REC- 51

100-447251-45X1

AUG 22 1968

- 3 - Bureau (Encl. 1) (RM)  
2 - San Francisco (Encl. 2) (RM)  
4 - Los Angeles  
(1 - 157-1618)  
(1 - [redacted])

RHR/dld  
(9)

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643 MAY 6 1971

AGENCY: ACSI, NIC, OSI, SEC. SERV.,  
DEPT: ISD, [redacted]  
HOW FORW: [redacted]  
DATE FORW: 8/28/68  
BY: [redacted]

59 SEP 6 1968





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Los Angeles, California  
August 15, 1968

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL  
ON 11-25-2005

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
SPEECH AT UNIVERSITY OF  
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA ON  
AUGUST 2, 1968

A source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised a Special Agent of the Los Angeles Division of the FBI as follows on August 5, 1968:

Source stated he attended a political rally for Eldridge Cleaver at Bovard Hall, University of Southern California (USC) in Los Angeles on August 2, 1968. Cleaver is the Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party (BPP) and presidential candidate of the Peace and Freedom Party, a legally constituted political party in the state of California.

Source advised that the rally began at 8:00 p.m. and lasted until 11:00 p.m. and was attended by approximately 250 persons, the majority of whom were Negro. Source advised that he observed no uniformed police at the auditorium. Source advised that Black Panther members guarded all exits and that walkie talkies were used by these guards.

Source advised that during the course of Cleaver's speech he recalled only two violent statements. Cleaver stated that people were nosing around the Black Panther headquarters on Central Street and that if it did not stop there would be blood on Central Street. Cleaver also said that he did not advocate violence, but if Huey P. Newton (See Appendix) was not freed, the Black Panthers would get their guns. Cleaver stated that this was not advocating violence, but only protecting Newton.

Source stated that there was no trouble or disturbances at the rally.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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343 MAY 3 1971

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

ENCLOSURE

100-447251-45X1

157-9599-6

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
Also Known As  
Black Panther Party for Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality", to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service", states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAPP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

APPENDIX~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-2323)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
PEACE AND FREEDOM RALLY,  
ELYSIAN PARK, LOS ANGELES,  
CALIFORNIA, 8/3/68  
OO: San Francisco

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM captioned as above suitable for dissemination. Also enclosed are two copies of the same for San Francisco. Copies of the LHM are being distributed to the U.S. Attorney, Los Angeles, Secret Service, and all Military Agencies.

## ADMINISTRATIVE

Enclosed for the Bureau are three copies of a newspaper clipping reporting excerpts of CLEAVER's speech as reported in "Open City" for August 9, 1968. Two copies are being sent to San Francisco. These copies are marked obscene. Two copies are being maintained in the Los Angeles file entitled Black Panther Party, LA 157-1618, and LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, LA 157-2323. "Open City" is an avant-garde newspaper, of general circulation in the Los Angeles area.

5 XEROX ENCL. 8/30/68  
Sent with Dissemination  
RMH/mt  
Clipping sent under  
"Dissemination" cover

AGENCY: CRIM  
ACSI, SEC. SERV.  
DEPT: ISD  
HOW FORN: A/S  
DATE FORN: 8/30/68  
BY: RMH/mt

EX 110

REC 82

100-447251-45X2

157-9599-8

- 3 - Bureau (Encs. 14) REGISTERED
- 2 - San Francisco (Encs. 4) REGISTERED
- 3 - Los Angeles
  - (1 - 157-1618)
  - (1 - 100-70073)

RHR/dmh  
(8)

ENCLOSURE

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

RACIAL INT. SECT.

79 SEP 13 1968

112423  
COPY AND COPY OF ENCL FILED IN 157-9599-8



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California

August 26, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No.

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

ON 11-25-2005

PEACE AND FREEDOM RALLY,  
ELYSIAN PARK, LOS ANGELES,  
CALIFORNIA, AUGUST 3, 1968

The "News Advertiser," a suburban newspaper of local circulation in the Los Angeles area, dated August 8, 1968, reported that approximately 1500 persons attended an "Open Convention" of the Peace and Freedom Party (PFP), a legally constituted political party in the State of California, at Elysian Park, Los Angeles, California. The newspaper reported that approximately 95 per cent of the persons were white and under 30; and approximately 20 Black Panthers, carrying walkie-talkies, were in attendance. Each person in attendance was allowed to vote in selection of the presidential candidate for the Peace and Freedom Party. Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, presidential candidate of the Peace and Freedom Party, and Dick Gregory, a nationally known Negro comedian active in the civil rights movement, made a speech at the rally.

Voting was done after the speeches were made with Cleaver receiving 626 votes, and Gregory receiving 496 votes.

The "Open City" newspaper, an avant garde newspaper with general circulation in the Los Angeles area, dated August 9, 1968, reported excerpts of the speech of Cleaver. Cleaver's speech consisted of attacks on the "Establishment". Most notably Cleaver attacked President Johnson, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, the FBI, the Central Intelligence Agency, Governor Ronald Reagan, Mayor Sam Yorty, and Los Angeles Chief of Police Thomas Reddin. Cleaver made references to the Mao Tse Tung style of revolution and giving guns to people so they can determine their own destiny. Cleaver gave a warning to local police agencies to stay away from the Black Panther Headquarters on Central Avenue in Los Angeles or there would be blood on Central Avenue. Cleaver stated that violence could be used to liberate or suppress the Negro. Cleaver stated that Blacks had to decide between being victims of violence or taking their freedom by violence. Cleaver said that Blacks had to take their freedom and there was no middle ground.

Black Panther Party appendix attached.

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343 MAY 3 1971

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GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

100-447251-45X2  
159-2509-8

ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
PEACE AND FREEDOM RALLY,  
ELYSIAN PARK, LOS ANGELES,  
CALIFORNIA, AUGUST 8, 1968

Dick Gregory's speech was reported in the "Open City" newspaper and was less violence prone. Gregory did state that changes in the system would occur through the individual or through destruction and that he did not care which way it happened. Gregory stated that the change would occur through the young people and that he did think the majority of them were prepared for armed revolution.

Gregory cautioned that they must be watchful for infiltration into the movement by the FBI and CIA. No incidents occurred at the rally.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

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1  
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APPENDIX A

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
Also Known As  
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APPENDIX

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OBSCENE

ENCLOSURE

100-447251-15X4



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# —ELDRIDGE— " " FOR " " " " " " PUSSY POWER

by ROBERT IGRIEGA

Eldridge Cleaver was tired and off-balance at the Peace and Freedom rally in Elysian Park Saturday [Aug. 3]. He said the same things he said the night before at USC, in a talk sponsored by the Black Student Union. Friday night he was loose, swinging, ballsy, outrageous and funny.

Dig...

"The pigs of the power structure say the people are impotent, that we can't control things anymore, that we have to leave things to pigs like Dean Rusk or that Texas pig in the White House. As long as there are people on the face of this Earth they will always be able to take control of their own destiny and pull down the pigs of the power structure. They say, if you want a bad example, look to China. Well I ain't gonna look to China. I done looked to China. And I see Mao Tse-Tung took up a gun, took the coolies away from the rickshaw, and now he's got the hydrogen bomb. And I say that's all right." [Applause.]

"They got parole officers out here to monitor me. Up in San Francisco they told 'em to come in here and listen to my speech, to see if I violate my parole, you dig? Well, I don't know what to do about that. As far as I'm concerned, pigs of the power structure's on parole." [Applause.]

"We don't care about parole, probation, the gas chamber, the CIA, the FBI, the hydrogen bomb, we say fuck it, we gon' move."

["Yes!"]

"If you tell the pig he got to stop torturing people, stop fuckin' over people, he get up tight. He say you wrong, you out of order, you ought to be in jail. And he can put you in jail, 'cause he got pigs out there allowed to have guns, allowed to have baseball bats they call batons. They beat all the fat off your head, shoot you if you don't like it. Then they have a trial, call it justifiable homicide and say you were wrong."

["Say it, brother! He sayin' it the way it really is."]

"Does it bother you they put a curfew on Berkeley? If it doesn't it should. 'Cause what they sayin' is they gonna treat you just like niggers."

"But there are more people than there are pigs, and the people got more guns than the pigs got guns. I don't say 'Give me liberty or give me death,' I say 'Give me liberty or I gonna pick up a gun.'"

["Right on, Brother!"]

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Open City  
page 1  
Los Angeles,  
California

Date: 8/9-15/68

Edition:

Author: Robert Igriega

Editor:

Title: Eldridge for  
"Pussy Power"

Character:

or

Classification: Racial Matte

Submitting Office: Los Angeles

☐ Being Investigated

"I am not a freak for violence. Guns is ugly. People is what's beautiful, and when you use a gun to kill a person you doin' something that's ugly. But there are two forms of violence - violence to liberate yourself, and violence visited on you to keep you in your place. We have to make a choice between continuing to be the victims, or deciding to take our freedom.

[Continued on Page 6]

"There going to be blood on the streets of Babylon. 'Cause we have to have it. We just have to have our freedom. We just have to have our liberation."

["Teach it, Eldridge. Teach it on. Yes!"]

"If you ain't part of the solution, you part of the problem, you dig? There's no more middle ground. We gonna provoke a situation that's gonna force the Babylonians to deal with it.

"Speaking of pigs, I was asked about Ronald Reagan. There's a punk who can read anything they put in front of him and remember it. Then he trot out in front of a microphone and recall it. Take away all those script writers and bring him out here with nothing, and he will revert to his nature and say 'oink.'

"Now I got something for the women, for all the fine sisters out there. We call it pussy power. You tell that man if he can't be a warrior in a time of trouble, get out. Don't call on the telephone, don't come around, don't write letters. Until he ready to pick up a gun and be a man, don't give him no sugar. Politics comes from the lips of a pussy. I don't know how you can stand to have them faggots layin' and suckin' on you. You can always get a real man. I have retired from a lot of, uh, you know, I'm a married man now, so I humbly decline. But they're plenty of warriors out there who know how to relate to you. And if them others come around and fuck with you, you let us know and we'll kill 'em.

"We had this thing in L.A. just a week ago. The brothers have this office down on Central Avenue where they have their meetings, and the pigs was cornin' around, snoopin' around, snortin' around. It seemed to me they were settin' it up to vamp down on the brothers with some trumped-up charges. So we called Sacramento, and we talked to Sen. Mervyn Dymally and Assemblyman William Green [Negro representatives from Los Angeles] and we said, 'We suggest, since you in the house, that you talk to them pigs, and tell them we goin' to have our meetings, and if they try to come down on us, there gonna be blood on the threshold, there gonna be blood on Central Avenue, 'cause we got to have this.'

"So they called the Mayor, who was out of town. So we got this flunky, and we got the Chief, Reddin. Reddin said that the pigs on Central Avenue were moving on their own. They were getting eager. They were moving without waiting for orders.

"He was probably lying. 'Cause we got to realize that we livin' in the era of the Kerner Report. That report says to the whites that we've gone too far, the niggers really gone crazy this time. We got to pump some real money into the ghetto. At the same time we got to be practical, so you got all this money comin' down at the same time for the police. All the troublemakers who don't take our money, we put 'em in jail. All the police chiefs are making their pilgrimages to the Pentagon.

"We got to put up with tanks and Stoner rifles. When the regular army gets back from Vietnam they let 'em out early and pay 'em extra money to go on the police force. Well, when we bring 'the boys' home, our job is to civilize them. We will not tolerate them coming into our communities and behaving the way they do in Vietnam. We will not tolerate it.

"Looking back, I see that Huey P. Newton was the only Panther who was righteously serious all the time. We are not going to be witnesses to the execution of Huey P. Newton. We gonna go down with Huey P. Newton.

"There gonna be blood on the streets of Babylon."

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATION SECTION

AUG 28 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC

216PM 8-28-68 DEFERRED CLP

TO DIRECTOR, CHICGO AND LOS ANGELES

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520) (P) 1P

LE ROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. RACIAL MATTERS-BLACK PANTHER  
PARTY.

RE CHICAGO TELETYPE TO SAN FRANCISCO, AUGUST  
TWENTYSEVEN LAST. ENTITLED DEMCON.

[REDACTED], ADVISED  
THIS DATE AT TWELVE THIRTY PM, SUBJECT APPEARED IN HIS OFFICE  
TO REQUEST PERMISSION TO TRAVEL TO SANTA BARBARA, CALIFORNIA  
TO SPEAK AT UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LAW SCHOOL AT SEVEN  
PM. AUTHORITY WAS GRANTED AND SUBJECT WILL RETURN AT APPROXI-  
MATELY TEN PM TO SAN FRANCISCO.

END

GJM

FBI WASH DC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/13/81 BY [signature]  
EX-104

REC 37

15 AUG 29 1968

MR. TRAINOR  
ROOM 836 9&D

61 SEP 5 1968

FBI

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DG/EHL  
ON 02-21-2006

8

Transmit the following in

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(Type in plain text or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority or Method of Mailing)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, DETROIT (P)

SUBJECT: PEACE AND FREEDOM; NEW POLITICS PARTIES  
NATIONAL CONVENTION, ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN,  
8/17-18/68  
INFORMATION CONCERNING - INTERNAL SECURITY  
(DEfile: 100-35206)ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM

(CO: SAN FRANCISCO)

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE~~Re Detroit teletypes to Bureau, under initial  
captioned above, dated 8/15, 16, 17, 18, 19/68.There are enclosed for the Bureau 20 copies  
of an LHM dated 8/23/68, and captioned, "ELDRIDGE CLEAVER,."

- 6 - Bureau (Enc. 20) (RM)
  - 2 - Chicago (Enc. 8) (RM)
  - 2 - San Francisco (Enc. 6) (RM)
  - 2 - New York (Enc. 3) (RM)
  - 2 - Los Angeles (Enc. 2) (RM)
  - 3 - Detroit
- JRC/cmt  
(17)

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-16SK-DLC  
REASON -  
DATE OF REVIEW 8-23-88

10/17/79

ENCLOSURE

CARBON COPY

SEP 17 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING -  
SLIP(S) DATE 10-17-79  
DLC

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-112493-2

DE 100-35206

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
United States Presidential Candidate, Peace and Freedom - New Politics Parties National Convention, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 8/17-18/68."

Eight copies are furnished Chicago, six San Francisco, three New York, and two Los Angeles, to cover appropriate files in those divisions and in the case of Chicago to make desired dissemination to the intelligence community.

The enclosed LHM is stamped Confidential to protect sources of continuing value to the Bureau.

Twenty copies of the LHM are furnished the Bureau in the event wider than normal dissemination is desired by the Bureau in the light of the various organizations and individuals referred to herein and in the light of information set forth herein concerning scheduled disruptive activities at Chicago, Illinois, late 8/68.

San Francisco by airtel to Bureau, dated 8/13/68, noted that [redacted] concerning whom information is set forth herein, is on the Security Index, Priority I. San Francisco airtel noted that [redacted] is also involved with a local [redacted] the extent of which has not yet been determined. (J)

Re Detroit Division subjects concerning whom information is set forth in enclosed LHM, [redacted]  
[redacted] are included in the Security Index.

It is noted re ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and the Black Panther Party (BPP) collaboration with the Peace and Freedom Party (PFP) and Citizens for New Politics (CNP) groups referred to herein that CLEAVER in his Ann Arbor speech made reference to the BPP

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DE 100-35206

joining up with the PFP. He made reference to the PFP being interested in "Chicago". There would appear to be an inference that the BPP may have a commitment to the PFP in some manner with reference to proposed Chicago disruptive activities, or otherwise.

Re [redacted] whose information is set forth in enclosed LHM, [redacted] as noted elsewhere in this LHM, is identified as [redacted] Michigan. [redacted]

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[redacted] the book by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER entitled, "Soul on Ice". ~~(U)~~

In interview [redacted]

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As noted briefly in enclosed LHM, local authorities, including the Michigan State Police and the Ann Arbor Police Department covering this Convention were subjected to considerable harassment, taunting, and threatening comments. No violence developed, however, Michigan State Police vehicles surveilling ELDRIDGE CLEAVER in his visit to Ann Arbor, Michigan, were subjected to counter-surveillance activities. It is believed that this instance may be of value in cautioning Bureau offices affording required coverage to ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and his associates.

Information is set forth in the LHM attributed to [ ] concerning directions from the "National Steering Committee" and encouraging delegates to the Ann Arbor Convention to remain in the Mid-West through 8/68 ostensibly for participation in the Chicago demonstrations. (J)

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Information is also attributed to this same source concerning [REDACTED]

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Local dissemination is being made at Detroit, Michigan, to G-2, ONI, OSI, Secret Service, and USA.

An airtel has been submitted to the Bureau and to all offices covering states which were identified as having had delegates in attendance at this Convention. Requests were made for an alert of sources for any information developed in those districts concerning this Convention. On receipt and review of this information and on review of additional source information, lists of delegates, etc., Detroit will prepare a comprehensive report on the PFP Founding Convention, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 8/68.

LEADS

No leads are being set out with this communication. Copies are furnished to appropriate offices for their information and for designation to substantive files in those offices where pertinent and concerning their subjects or organizations referred to herein.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Detroit, Michigan  
August 23, 1968

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DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL  
ON 11-25-2005

~~ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE~~

CLASS. & EXT. BY SP-105K-JLL  
REASON - 1-2.4.2.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 8-23-88

Re: Eldridge Cleaver, OCT 17 1979  
United States Presidential Candidate,  
Peace and Freedom-New Politics Parties,  
National Convention  
Ann Arbor, Michigan,  
August 17-18, 1968

All sources referred to herein have furnished reliable information in the past.

I. GENERAL STATEMENT: Convention and Sponsorship

A. Synopsis of Event

Information is set forth herein, from sources who have furnished reliable information in the past, concerning a visit to the University of Michigan (U of M), Ann Arbor, Michigan, during the week of August 12, 1968, by Eldridge Cleaver, Black Panther Party, as a candidate for the office of President of the United States.

The nominating organization was the Founding Convention of the Peace and Freedom Party (PFP), as a new, national, political party, described by its participants as a coalition of existing East and West Coast "Peace and Freedom Parties", the "New Politics" parties of the Midwest, and the "Black Panther Party" (BPP). The Convention was held at the U of M, Ann Arbor, August 17-18, 1968, and nominated Cleaver as it's candidate for President of the United States.

This newly developed coalition claimed to be an example of the fact that the "New Left" and the "Black Liberation Movement" could work together, effectively, to form a permanent, national, radical, political party.

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APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY SLIP(S)  
DATE 10-17-79 *Classification*

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GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and declassification.

159-9599  
ENCLOSURE

100-447251-

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Re: Eldridge Cleaver, etc.

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Convention participants, including Cleaver, advocated "revolution" and "arming", disseminating considerable data regarding participation in disruptive activities scheduled in connection with the National Convention of the Democratic Party, Chicago, Illinois, August, 1968.

The National Committee of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), and District Committees, CPUSA, encouraged participation in the Ann Arbor founding convention of the PFP. The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), while not specifically or openly named in the sponsorship or direction of this Ann Arbor PFP Convention, according to sources, played a major role in it's development and direction. The SDS did so, according to a source, through it's domination of the host group in Ann Arbor, Michigan, the Citizens for New Politics (CNP); it's superb national organization; and it's organizers.

While much of the Chicago planning, revealed at this Ann Arbor Convention, indicated threatened violence and implied disruption, a source stated the SDS has outstanding professional psychological advice and direction. Source speculated that some materials circulated may have been calculated to develop fear and hysteria, presumably to win concessions without having to follow through on threatened actions. Source added, however, that organizers would have difficulty exerting control over large groups of young, irresponsible individuals, anarchists, and Black Militants attending, whose propensity to act emotionally could produce an explosive and dangerous situation at Chicago, August, 1968.

August 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 1968

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B. INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANIZATIONS INVOLVED:

(1) Organizations: Data set forth hereunder, either (J) through individuals represented, organizational effort, or materials disseminated at the PFP Ann Arbor Convention, relate to the organizations listed as follows:

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Re: Eldridge Cleaver, etc.

The CP, USA, and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) have been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Characterizations concerning the following organizations referred to herein, are set forth in a separate appendix section, attached:

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS)  
The Black Panther Party (BPP)  
The Young Socialist Alliance (YSA)  
The W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA)

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(2) Individuals: Among individuals referred to herein are Eldridge Cleaver, [redacted] Black Panther Party, [redacted] Jerry Rubin, [redacted]

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Information concerning these individuals is set forth in a separate section, Section IV, of this memorandum.

C. UNACKNOWLEDGED SDS DIRECTION OF CONVENTION:

(1) SDS direction to Citizens for New Politics (CNP):

A source advised in August, 1968, that the CNP at Ann Arbor was the official host group to the national founding convention for the Peace and Freedom-New Politics Parties in their August, 1968, Ann Arbor convention. Source noted that the CNP is essentially representing a SDS adventure into the political arena. Source noted as evidence of this the fact that the two individuals responsible for both hosting and arranging the Ann Arbor convention physically at Ann Arbor were [redacted]

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August 21, 1968

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Re: Eldridge Cleaver, etc.

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[redacted] in the U of M is probably the best known, most vocal, and most widely recognized student leader of the SDS on that campus, while [redacted] at both the U of M and at Michigan State University (MSU).

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[redacted]  
August 16, 1968

(2) Involvement of [redacted] in Convention:

A source advised on August 16, 1968, that he had received information to the effect that [redacted] whom he knew to be a [redacted]

[redacted]

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[redacted]  
August 16, 1968

Sources advised that [redacted] appeared at the Ann Arbor founding convention of the Peace and Freedom-New Politics Parties, August 17-18, 1968, where through his activities it was clear Eldridge Cleaver was his candidate. Additionally, sources noted [redacted] was an acknowledged leader of the convention and was introduced to the convention in convention sessions and addressed caucuses of the convention.

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[redacted] [redacted] [redacted]  
August 17, 1968  
August 18, 1968

(3) Involvement of REP-SDS:

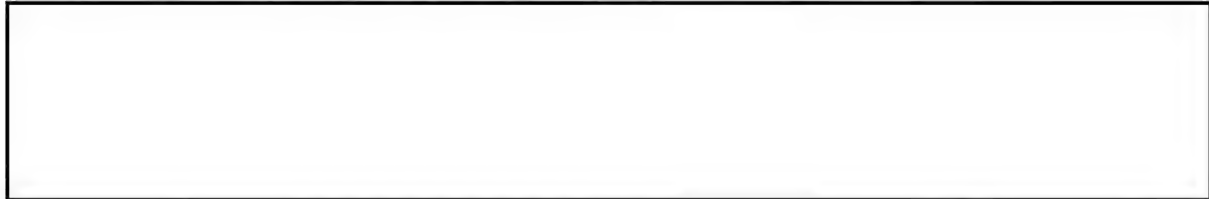
A source advised in August, 1968, that REP-SDS maintains a functioning and staffed office at Ann Arbor and offers space therein to related organizations engaged in similar activities, generally with an inter-changing personnel. These include the CNP, and an organization known as People Against Racism (PAR).

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Re: Eldridge Cleaver, etc.

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[redacted] August 21, 1968

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Source advised in August, 1968, that during a REP-SDS conference in August, 1968, it was learned that one [redacted] a REP staff member, on or about August 9, 1968, had returned from a Chicago meeting where plans were reportedly made and a headquarters established for coordination of planned massive demonstration during the Democratic National Convention. On that occasion [redacted] indicated that he and others of the "New Left" would be traveling about the country to promote the demonstrations at Chicago and on various college campuses wherever possible. Source stated that inasmuch as a principal item of the Ann Arbor convention of the Peace and Freedom-New Politics Parties convention, August 17-18, 1968, concerned planned demonstrations to be held in connection with the Democratic National Convention at Chicago late August, 1968, above appeared to source as a part of REP-SDS involvement in both the convention at Ann Arbor and the demonstrations planned for Chicago.

[redacted]  
August 14, 1968  
August 18, 1968

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A source advised that the REP was founded in June, 1966, by the SDS as an internal education arm for SDS and as a vocal distribution point for New Left leaders. Source added that REP over the period since its founding has been directed and staffed by acknowledged theoreticians of the SDS and the New Left and only recently has become independant financially from SDS to become a separate but affiliated organization.

[redacted]  
August 14, 1968

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Re: Eldridge Cleaver, etc.

II. CONVENTION OFFICIAL PROCEEDINGS

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A. Call

An article appeared in the publication "Peace and Freedom National Organizer", issue of July 20, 1968, at San Francisco, California, which bore the additional front page banner headline of "National Convention Call". The article stated in part as follows:

"We therefore issue this call to a National Convention to be held on the 17th and 18th of August at the Michigan Union on the campus of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. The Convention is sponsored by the Peace and Freedom Party in California and will be hosted by the New Politics Party of Michigan.

"The general purpose of the Convention is to stimulate the development of a radical political party. Specifically, the Convention will consider the politics of the 1968 Presidential Campaign, the nature of a national electoral organization of the Left, and the selection of Presidential, Vice Presidential and Cabinet position candidates. Voting preparation to be limited to organizations which are committed to building an independent radical political party."

Other articles included in this issue deal specifically with the Black Panther Party (BPP) of California and a "Coalition Treaty" established by the black and brown caucus and the Peace and Freedom movement.

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Re: Eldridge Cleaver, etc.

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The above publication is published by the National Organizing Committee of the California Peace and Freedom Party (PFP), San Francisco, California, and indicates that the National Convention Call and the policy statements contained in this issue are the official policy of that party.

The back page of the above publication bears a list entitled, "National Contact List" which indicates representative contacts in 23 states and noting that in Michigan the contacts are the New Politics Party, 706 Dewey Street, Ann Arbor, and Peter Werbe, 1107 West Warren, Detroit, Michigan. References to standard directories for Ann Arbor, Michigan, indicate this address to be that of Bertram Garskoff.

B. Convention Preparation - Citizens for New Politics (CNP)  
Michigan Convention

Sources advised that the CNP Michigan State Convention was to meet August 14-15, 1968 on the campus of the U of M, Ann Arbor, for the purpose of electing delegates to the National Founding Convention of Radicals to be held in Ann Arbor on August 17-18, 1968. It was announced during preparations that the Presidential nominations of the new PFP had been offered to Doctor Benjamin Spock and Senator Mc Carthy, both of whom had reportedly declined the same. It was indicated further that the same offer had been made to Senator Mc Govern, who had advised he would "let them know later".

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Sources stated that both the State and National Convention arrangements being made at Ann Arbor [redacted] of U of M, [redacted] being described by reliable sources as an SDS campus leader, former Chairman of SDS at the U of M, and formerly Co-Founder and Co-Chairman of the U of M campus chapter of the W.E.B. Du Bois Club (DCA).

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Re: Eldridge Cleaver, etc.

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[redacted] of the  
CNP,

Sources indicated that [redacted] of San Francisco, were handling the Convention preparations at Ann Arbor to date, and had arranged for Eldridge Cleaver of the BPP of California to speak on campus at Hill Auditorium. Source later advised that Cleaver had failed to arrive for the scheduled speech and that a group of approximately 350 persons, waiting at the auditorium, were advised by Richard Hyland, who identified himself as the National Coordinator of the PFP, that Cleaver was "tied up in Chicago" and unable to make the scheduled speech. He indicated further that Cleaver would speak the following day and the time and place would be announced.

Sources advised that [redacted] of San Francisco, described to them as a Cleaver Lieutenant, had been in Ann Arbor, Michigan, since August 6, 1968, preparing for the Founding Convention of the PFP and was scheduled to return to California on the 20th of August. In addition, it was noted that [redacted] was residing at [redacted] Ann Arbor, the Michigan contact address for the upcoming Convention.

Sources stated that Eldridge Cleaver of the BPP and Dick Gregory, National entertainment personality, were both announced candidates for the Presidential nomination of the Convention and that the SDS faction was reportedly "pushing [redacted] for this position".

Sources advising of the proceedings at the CNP Convention on August 14, 1968, indicated that the agenda would include discussion of local candidates in upcoming

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Re: Eldridge Cleaver, etc.

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elections and discussions regarding the Vice Presidential area candidate by the PFP Founding Convention. In addition it was indicated that committees would be formed to handle the Founding Convention of the PFP and to handle the publicizing of Eldridge Cleaver's speech rescheduled for August 16, 1968. The delegate list to the Founding PFP Convention included individuals characterized as "black militants" from Detroit, Lansing, Muskegon, and Ann Arbor, Michigan, and further that the CNP endorsed Cleaver as the Presidential nominee and [redacted]

[redacted] Ypsilanti, Michigan, as the Vice Presidential nominee to be placed before the Founding Convention of the PFP.

Sources indicated that the Communist Party (CP) of Michigan had encouraged participation by its selected members in the Founding Convention of the PFP, and the delegates to this National Convention would include representatives from approximately 20 states.

[redacted]  
August 14-15, 1968

[redacted]  
August 14-15, 1968

[redacted]  
August 14-15, 1968

[redacted]  
August 14-15, 1968

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Re: Eldridge Cleaver, etc.

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C. Convention Action

A source advised that at 10:00 a.m. on August 17, 1968, registration of delegates took place at the Michigan Union, U of M and lasted until 12:45 p.m. The Convention convened with a short welcome speech from Dennis Sinclair of the Michigan delegation. A report was read from the National Convention Committee by Eric Chester, which submitted the results of deliberations by the eight member committee regarding Convention rules. This committee was composed of four members from California, two from New York, and two from Michigan, whose responsibility was to set Convention rules and an agenda.

A resolution from the Convention floor regarding delegate credentials attempted to change the rule so that one state delegation being accredited would not preclude others from the same state being recognized as delegates. This resolution was defeated with Bobby Seale from California BPP speaking against it.

From 1:15 to 2:00 p.m. elections were held for the five rotating Chairmen of the Convention, with 12 nominations made and election of:

Ken Denmon  
(BPP, California)

F. Broslowsky  
(California)

Jack Weinberg  
(New York)

Thomas Copi  
(Michigan)

Paul Rosenstein  
(California)

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Re: Eldridge Cleaver, etc.

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Following this election the Convention moved to adjourn temporarily for the purpose of allowing State Caucus meetings wherein each delegation was to select two members to serve on a National Committee, unnamed, for the new National PFP. This committee will deal with organizing principals and the National organization structure.

The Convention reconvened at 6:00 p.m., August 17, 1968, at which time it was decided that discussion on various committee reports would be delayed and discussion was held as to committee procedure regarding instructions to the to be formed committee on organizing principals and structure. It was decided that the National Organizing Committee would coordinate activities of the major candidates of the party in the United States and would regulate appearances and activities with local groups. Consideration and discussion was also carried on regarding organization policy and reports were received with regard to proposed planks for the organization platform.

These discussions dealt in general with withdrawal from Vietnam, armed "self-defense" of blacks, the liberation struggle of minority groups, the abolition of capitalism, the two party system, and the establishment of a third party.

The 25 member New York Caucus indicated they planned a resolution in support of world-wide demonstrations for November 5, 1968, for all disenfranchised individuals to include minority groups, criminals, and others. These demonstrations are to take place in public and government buildings, military installations, and wherever they could prove effective.

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Re: Eldridge Cleaver, etc.

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The Convention adjourned until 7:30 p.m., at which time Cleaver and Gregory were to deliver addresses to the Convention to be followed by question and answer periods. Upon reconvening, the Convention considered and passed a resolution to the effect that the National PFP promote National and International demonstrations demanding the release of all political prisoners focusing on the California Newton trial and allocating funds for this measure from the National Organizing budget. In addition, a resolution was adopted to the effect that should any restriction be placed on any of the National PFP candidates to address the American people, the party would organize to similarly restrict activities of the "Establishment's candidates", by demonstrations and other direct action means.

The nominations of both Gregory and Cleaver followed, Gregory being nominated by one Mike Allen, who indicated in his nominating remarks that "We retain the option to destroy the system until such time as the United States Constitution is fulfilled". Gregory in his remarks to the Convention indicated that the majority parties are presenting scum, filth, and trash, adding that "This corrupt and insane nation should be straightened out or destroyed so the rest of the world can breathe fresh air". He noted that the Constitution has never been enforced and that the "two party system is out". He added "There are a lot of people I'd like to shoot", but added that he would not because he is a coward.

Cleaver, upon his nomination, stated that there is "nothing too radical", and recommended that, "We should open up another front in the United States", in the last remark alluding to the National Liberation Front

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Re: Eldridge Cleaver, etc.

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in Vietnam. A delegate, identifying himself as a pacifist, asked Cleaver if everyone would be required to pick up a gun and Cleaver replied, "You'll have to pick up a gun, if you don't we'll pass you by". Cleaver, source added, made continuous references to guns and violence being careful not to make any quotable threats. He stated that, "I want to build a revolutionary movement, and we'll fight on the battlements if necessary".

Paul Jacobs, a PFP candidate for United States Senate from California, spoke to endorse Cleaver, noting that if elected himself he intended to, "close down the Senate".

Thomas Hayden was introduced to the Convention and received an ovation as "one of the founders of SDS and the New Left", and it was announced that he would hold a caucus the following morning at 9:00 a.m. to discuss plans for demonstrations at Chicago for the period when the Democratic National Convention is to be held.

Source advised that on the morning of August 18, 1968, the elections took place for Presidential candidate of the PFP and Eldridge Cleaver was elected by an overwhelming majority. Cleaver delivered a brief acceptance speech which indicated his willingness to run as a candidate and wage a fight in those areas endorsed by the BPP and the PFP.

On the afternoon of August 18, 1968, source advised that the Convention received both a majority and minority report of the National Organizing Principals and Policies Committee, with the minority report being accepted with four added amendments. The accepted report included statements of support to be included in the organization's platform as follows:

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Re: Eldridge Cleaver, etc.

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1. Self-determination for all peoples of the world.
2. Support for the liberation struggle of the Vietnamese people and for demanding withdrawal of United States troops.
3. To support the liberation of the oppressed peoples of the United States, including the blacks, Spanish and American Indians and their right of armed self-defense.
4. Support for the struggles of the American working peoples to control their own unions and to end the racism therein.
5. Opposition to conscription and the right of United States Servicemen to organize in their own behalf.
6. To create the independent political institutions to press the struggle through the electoral system as well as through direct action means.

The following additional amendments were made to the minority report and accepted:

7. Support and initiate community struggles around local issues such as jobs, housing, schools, police control, prisons, the draft, gun control and others, as part of the larger struggle to transform American society.

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Re: Eldridge Cleaver, etc.

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8. Support for women's liberation.
9. Support for draft resistance such as turning in cards and refusing induction.
10. Support for student demands.

August 17, 18, 19, 1968

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D. Election of Candidates

A source advised that Eldridge Cleaver and Dick Gregory were both nominated for the office of President by the founding convention of the PFP and that Cleaver was elected by an overwhelming majority.

[redacted] August 17, 1968

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A source indicated that Gregory in his remarks to the convention indicated that he would stop short of violence and would appeal to the humane side of the question. He said that he would continue to run for President whether he received the PFP nomination or not. He charged that America would "kill itself" unless it changed. Source noted that Cleaver advocated organizing the black community to "overthrow the pigs", referring to the power structure, and admonished white radicals to organize the white communities to help. He added that he was ready to die with the people and kill with the people, noting that Negroes who cooperate with the white power structure should be run out of the community.

[redacted] August 17, 1968

A source noted that the convention terminated without nominating Vice Presidential candidates, declining to do so in favor of participating states or regions naming their own nominees. Source advised that Cleaver was disenchanted with the convention because it was not sufficiently radical and was reportedly considering declining the Presidential nomination of PFP in favor of Dick Gregory.

[redacted] August 19, 1968

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In campaign literature distributed at the convention purportedly written by Gregory, he stated that the course of

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human events in this nation have created a situation where it is necessary for people to exert individual, independent action to dissolve the political bands which unite them with the two-party system. He indicated that the Declaration of Independence clearly states that where rights and privileges are denied by a government over long periods of time, it is man's duty to abolish that government. Following a resume of his personal background, Gregory stated that there is no doubt in his mind that America is in Vietnam illegally and that this is an open and flagrant violation of law which justifies armed revolution by those who seek a return to law, order, and justice. He added that "I'm committed to non-violence and I do not force my philosophy on anyone else. There is nothing any man can do to make me kill him or inflict personal injury upon him, but that is my own personal hang-up. I do not preach non-violence as the only alternative."

A source advised on August 19, 1968, that Cleaver had taken the convention floor to make a very strong appeal in behalf of one Jerry Rubin as a possible Vice Presidential candidate of the PFP and to become his running mate. Source indicated that Eric Chester opposed the selection of Rubin or any other single Vice Presidential candidate, preferring that states or regions select their own individual Vice Presidential candidates. Source added that the view of Chester, which was evidently popular with many state delegations, prevailed and Rubin was not nominated.

[redacted]  
August 19, 1968

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#### E. Convention Participants

A source advised that during the opening proceedings of the convention and after registration of delegates, it was announced that 20 states had sent delegations to the convention, representing a total of 218 delegates. Source stated that there appeared to be a total of about 300 in attendance at opening sessions, indicating the balance to be observers from various organizations.

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F. Subversive Faction Activities

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(1.) Communist Party (CP) Influence

Source advised that the National Office of the CP, USA, had requested that delegations from various state CP organizations be sent to the founding convention of PFP to be held at Ann Arbor, Michigan, August 17 and 18, 1968. These sources indicated that there is an intense interest of the CP in this new political party and the CP is desirous of having its members participate.

[redacted] July 29 and August 2, 1968

[redacted] August 12, 1968

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A position paper distributed by the "Communist Party - Southern California District", dated August 3, 1968, distributed to the delegates of the founding convention of PFP in Ann Arbor, Michigan, set forth background as to the need for an intelligent third political party. It stated, in part, "Communists believe that the Peace and Freedom Party represents a highly significant development. While we will continue to express in every way possible, including the running of Communists for public office, our intelligent position for a Socialist revolution, we will cooperate with all who would build the PFP and movement as an effective challenge to the two-party system. Our candidates will, therefore, urge citizens to vote for Peace and Freedom candidates. It is our view that regardless of the outcome of the national conventions of the two old parties, full support should be given to the Peace and Freedom candidates".

(2.) Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) Influence

A source advised that during preparations for Cleaver's speech at Hill Auditorium, in Ann Arbor, Michigan, on August 14, 1968, individuals known to the source as members of the SWP in

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Detroit, Michigan, were observed distributing literature and to be actively engaged in conversations pro and con regarding the founding convention of PFP and the proposed presidential nominees of that party. Source indicated further that in these discussions [redacted] known to source as a member of the SWP, indicated that the SWP did not feel that Cleaver was a good choice for this party's presidential nominee.

[redacted] August 18, 1968

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(3.) Other

Sources reporting on activities at the founding convention of PFP either through personal contact with members of attending groups, or through literature distributed by these organizations, discerned that the following organizations were reported either personally or through literature at the convention:

Progressive Labor Party

Independent Socialist Clubs

Socialist Labor Party

National Mobilization Committee  
To End the War In Vietnam

Students for a Democratic Society

Up Against the Wall (obscene)

Radical Education Project

Freedom and Peace Party, New York

Twin Cities Workers League

Black Caucus - Brooklyn, New York

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Committee for the Rights of the Imprisoned -  
Berkeley, California

Independent Workers Coordinating Committee

Radical Caucus - Alameda, California

G. Promotion Disruptive Activities

(1.) Democratic National Convention,  
Chicago, Illinois  
August, 1968

a. Caucus

A source advised that on August 18, 1968, a caucus was called [redacted] regarding the Chicago demonstrations and was in effect to acquaint convention delegates with plans and data for these demonstrations. [redacted] indicated that he would be leaving for Chicago at an early date to make final arrangements and source took this to mean that [redacted] would be in Chicago before August 20, 1968.

[redacted] referred to the schedules in "RAT", a New York underground publication, indicating that it had published a special convention issue which contained a "sketchy" outline of planned activities for Chicago to date. He noted that on August 24, 1968, the Women's Strike for Peace would picket hotels in Chicago and that on the 25th, mass demonstrations by a Coalition for an Open Convention, [redacted] would take place and it was expected that 20,000 would participate in this particular affair. [redacted] indicated that [redacted] was a "Mc Carthy manager". It was indicated that on the 25th there was also to be sidewalk demonstrations at hotels where delegates would be arriving, and that the night of the 25th, there would be music, demonstrations, and action at Lincoln Park, indicating this park to be "yippie land". It was indicated that on the 26th, there would be a "large propaganda blast" at the Democratic platform and demonstrations against companies in the Chicago area making weapons or materials for the war effort. Loop demonstrations in downtown Chicago were also

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scheduled for this date with [REDACTED]

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On the 27th [REDACTED] indicated that there would be an LBJ birthday party, location not indicated, which would include a guerrilla theater and an open air pavillion with speakers and singers. Pictures of the accomplishments of the LBJ administration will be shown. On the 28th he noted that there will be a mass "mill-in" at the Loop and a mass march on the amphitheater. On the 29th the plans are unclear, but might include another amphitheater march.

An Illinois delegate spoke to the caucus, indicating that the Peace and Freedom group will be working out of the "CIPA" office in Chicago and indicated that that building would accommodate 70 persons for sleeping quarters. He gave the contact number of CIPA and noted their location to be 1903 Howard, Chicago. They passed a sheet of paper around for delegates to sign who would be willing to come to Chicago early to help in organizing and [REDACTED] had signed it.

In closing the caucus, [REDACTED] indicated that he would be going to Kansas immediately after the PFP convention, but did not elaborate, on the reason. He also mentioned the address of Room 315, at 407 South Dearborn, which may be his Chicago office. In making a cursory examination of convention literature dealing with the Chicago demonstration, it was noted that one carried a printed schedule of Chicago events on the reverse side of a leaflet, which schedule closely approximated the list of events [REDACTED]

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b. Instructions to Delegates

1. "RAT"

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The "RAT", convention special issue of an underground new left newspaper from New York City, Volume 1, Issue 4, carries numerous articles dealing with the forthcoming Democratic convention. The lead article, which purports to contain strategic defense plans of Chicago police for the protection of the convention and its delegates, and other pages, contain detailed maps of the Chicago Loop area with a complete page of detailed legend. There is also contained a two-page map of Chicago showing the locations of National Guard Armories, mobilization centers for police and troops and other key defense sites. There is also a one-page map of the amphitheater area with a one-page legend and a listing of "movement centers". The articles in "RAT" indicated that various organizations connected with the new left were making individual preparations and connections with various movement centers which will be used as their particular bases of operations for the Chicago demonstrations.

One page of this publication contains a photograph of Vice President Hubert Humphrey as viewed through a rifle barrel with a bulls eye target superimposed over his face.

## 2. National Steering Committee

A source advised in August, 1968, that in the possession of the leadership of the PFP- New Politics convention at Ann Arbor, Michigan, August, 1968, among other instructions, was a copy of a data sheet regarding Chicago demonstrations scheduled for the week of the Democratic National Convention. The data sheet captioned "On to Chicago with Peace and Freedom", "Chicago is Where It is Going to Happen", discusses the impossibility of Mc Carthyites at Chicago, "For it is at Chicago that the futility of combining the morality and drive of the new left with the political pragmatism of the Democratic liberals will be fully demonstrated". "Peace and Freedom Party must be there because there quite probably will be 100,000 students in Chicago, and given the presence of well organized black militant groups within the city, racist ethnic neighborhoods surrounding it and a brutally efficient police force to maintain law and order, some kind of explosion is inevitable. Chicago may well turn into the largest and bloodiest demonstration in American history."

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This data sheet included a statement that PFP proves that the new left and the black liberation movement can work together to build an intelligent, permanent, radical party and admonished each delegate attending the Ann Arbor convention to be prepared to remain there in the Midwest through the month of August. It noted that the bulk of work would have to be carried by the California, Michigan, Massachusetts and Illinois organizations, and the data sheet and remarks was signed "Yours for Peace and Freedom" - the New York Steering Committee.

August 16, 1968

3. Other

Among the various pieces of convention literature distributed to delegates was one from the PFP in Chicago and indicated as follows:

"We will be there. We need you. We are hooked up with National Mobilization Committee, we will have two movement centers for information, workshops and for planning and staging areas for street activities. We are planning housing for you. Come. We need bread for printing posters and 'The National Organizer', special convention issue. For directions in Chicago, call CIPA 338-5872, 1903 West Howard, Chicago. It is happening. Bring your friends. Don't drink the water or eat the bacon -- They're both polluted."

A source furnished a printed sheet distributed to convention delegates entitled "Confront the Warmakers in Chicago, August 24-29, 1968", which carries an events schedule on the reverse side which conforms in detail to instructions given at a convention caucus on the Chicago demonstrations by

This schedule was distributed by the National

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Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and is, in general, a call to all individuals and organizations in the new left for their participation in Chicago demonstrations August 24-29, 1968.

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[redacted] August 19, 1968

A source furnished a printed leaflet distributed at the PFP Convention reportedly signed by numerous national organizers and delegates to the PFP convention which is entitled "Action Necessary to Develop, Build and Demonstrate to the People the Sincerity of the Peace and Freedom Movement". It recounts that the major party candidates have imposed their views on the American public through mass media and these and similar media have been denied to the other political candidates through such artifices as false imprisonment, coercion, denial of due process and withholding of travel permits and restriction of free travel. It indicates that this situation can no longer be tolerated and that it is resolved that the PFP National Convention declare that if any restrictions of this kind are placed on the rights of their representatives or candidates to address the American people, the PFP will organize to similarly restrict the activities of "establishment candidates" to prevent them from imposing their policies on the American public. The article made clear the resolution will empower the initiation of tactics, involving direct action and any other means necessary to accomplish the above purpose.

[redacted] August 18, 1968

Additional literature, one of which is entitled "Confrontation in Chicago", invites all to participate in the marches, demonstrations, and rallies during the period August 24 to 29, 1968, under the sponsorship of the National Mobilization Committee and contained "tear off" section requesting information from those about to respond.

(2.) Other Disruption

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An article appearing in the "Up Against the Wall" (obscene) distributed at the convention contained an article entitled "Has the Time for Demonstrations Passed". The article deals with the appearance of Vice President Humphrey at New York City's Waldorf-Astoria Hotel and associated demonstration held there. The author states "Even if we could defeat the cops in hand to hand combat, there is still the militia and the Army. There must be a more meaningful way of defying the system. Blowing up a Con Edison plant would be a pretty satisfying thing for a starter. Plunge the city into darkness to make the people see the light."

A resolution presented and unanimously adopted by the PFP founding convention resolved that the national peace and freedom movement initiate national and international demonstrations demanding the release of all black political prisoners, focusing on the trial of Huey P. Newton.

August 19, 1968

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Among literature distributed was a printed sheet authored by Oldrich Zajicek, 2317 South Hamlin Avenue, Chicago. The paper entitled "Ours is Interesting Time" covers a general outline and appraisal of the situation in the United States today and under the caption of "prevention of the police state" mentions that the second political task deals with the prevention of the police state or the self-defense of the people, noting that the time to plan and prepare is now while the state leaves us the opportunity to do so. It admonishes "once in the gas chamber one can do little", noting that arms are good as far as they go, but there are other means of defense just as efficient which do not take human lives, but merely damage property. It indicates that there are those who will apply arms against the state and there are others who will know where the state is vulnerable. It recommends data collection and distribution between these groups which will not identify their source and which will serve to expedite the program.

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III. CONVENTION RELATED ACTIVITY

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A. SPEECH OF ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, CANTERBURY HOUSE,  
ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN, AUGUST 16, 1968

Sources advised that Eldridge Cleaver, BPP, in a speech at Ann Arbor, Michigan, on August 16, 1968, addressed a group of some 250 individuals in remarks essentially as follows. Sources noted his speech was well received with considerable enthusiasm.

"The people in Ann Arbor are crazy, the police are crazy, the weather is crazy, and the mother country radicals are crazy. My parole officer is definitely crazy because he told me I couldn't come here. I told him I would come because I had to and because I had a right to come. He said OK but don't go to Detroit. I was going to Detroit and I still may go because I have the right to.

"My relationship with that parole officer is a metaphor for oppressed people and a symbol of all the pigs of the power structure. The governors, the mayors, the police and all the rest, the waterhead Humphries, the meat head Nixons and all the other alternatives. It's like picking ham or bacon, it's all pig and it's all pork, dedicated to the same job.

"Everything in this country is out of order and will stay out of order until we tear it up, take the little pieces and rebuild from the pieces. People here don't even know what to do. They're discussing the fundamental nature of this country, this decadent society, this oppressive international monster inflicting oppression on the people of the world. It's doing things in the name of the people of this country, and there are a lot of people who do not want things like this done in their name and who want to do something about it. It's part of this segment, that I represent, that are taking the position that they still have a lot of quarrels with people in the white community, but are realistic enough to recognize that we want to distinguish those who want to help get the white racism from around our necks from those who wish to keep it on. One of the things we have to bring out in these politics we are dealing with is where people are really at and where they want to be.

"Everyone is confused, that's where we're at, from the right to the left. Everyone thinks they have the answer and we all have the personal ideology that the country needs and what the problem needs.

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"But when you get down to it we have solutions that apply to us, our little group or the organizations we represent. We end up with a little cluster of dissatisfied people who are trying to reach out to other clusters to mold together a mightly striking force, a revolutionary political movement that can deal with this situation here in Babylon. I know we have every kind here from the high bound conservative to the flaming, wild-eyed radicals. We still have difficulty describing ourselves. What are we? Radicals, militants, activists. Call it any name you wish.

"What we have to do is create the machinery that by its moving will define us. I don't like to hang a label on it.

"I'm kind of scared after last night, but it's not my fault I was late because I'm an amateur at getting places on time. There's nothing I can do about it. I inherited tired blood. The whole mechanics of the country are tied up with precision; time tables, which have gotten the world in a lot of trouble. I'm sorry being late cost you money, we regret that, but if that puts you up tight, (obscene).

"Now the reason we're here, the reason we face a coalition with the Peace and Freedom Party (PFP) in the bay area of California is that we recognize the very serious and dangerous situation developing around us and it could get us killed. If we desire to continue functioning we recognize, that as a valid necessary phase of the black people's movement, black people must take control of those organizations founded by white radicals where these organizations have become identified with him. This would develop very strong rhetoric to be used as a weapon and a tool to urge white radicals to go into their own communities to organize something of their own. When this is done we can use this as a basis for a coalition and we could then work together.

"Stokely Carmichael said this, and in the bay area, we had to make a very fundamental appraisal of what we represented, who we would work with and what we wanted to do in that situation. We found that a lot of those we wanted to work with weren't ready to do this. A lot were ready to say black is black but they weren't ready to work together. We wanted to see results and see people out spreading the word about Huey, about the Black Panther Party (BPP), because we knew the only chance we had was in people becoming aware of the nature of the black liberation struggle. They also had to become aware of the inevitable occurrence of a confrontation between

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"blacks and the white racist cops, and that in the situation where a brother would move to liberate his community is in the same position as a Vietnam freedom fighter encountering a green beret or a lackey of the Kei regime. It would be absurd to say a Vietnamese freedom fighter was guilty of murder no matter how that came down.

"We recognized we couldn't go off to Berkeley and tell the people to stand up and demand that Huey P. Newton be set free. We started off talking to them about trying to get a fair trial for Huey because that is as far as they were willing to go at the time. As the whole process developed, and they were able to move from a demand for a fair trial in a racist court to the place where they demanded he be set free. This change in position deals with people trying to deal with an atmosphere of tension, the racist tension that makes every black man the enemy of every white man. We felt that this was an absurd situation.

"I feel if I have my neck on the ground with a boot on it, and a hand appears trying to lift the boot, I'm not going to look to see if the hand is the same color as mine, but only tell him, 'snap that mother (obscene) leg off'. Just get that boot off my neck. If anyone finds himself in a painful position, and be in contact in a common cause with someone who sympathizes with his pain, and then refuse help; he's got more than one problem.

"One day we were sitting in a car on Telegraph Avenue, we were broke and Huey was to make his court appearance. We were trying to figure out who we could rob to get money for leaflets to get the word out about Huey Newton. We saw this panel truck with a loud speaker on it saying, 'register for peace and freedom'. We followed it and found out what it was. I hadn't bothered to listen or notice until this shocking thing occurred and we were listening to everything and checking everything out. We started checking with some people because we could see ourselves driving through the streets shouting Huey P. Newton must be set free. We had to have a summit conference with the brains and the power structure of the PFP and had endless negotiations. We were ready to agree and say let's go but they wanted to talk about what would happen at Chicago, and if we did start working together, if we attended the convention of the Peace and Freedom party in March would we demand 50% of the votes. They were up tight about that. We said we don't want 50% of your votes. We have 100% of our votes and you can have 100% of yours. That no one is going to tell us how to run our organization and we wouldn't be interested in telling them how to run theirs. There are some

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"organizations we want to destroy and some we wanted to communicate with, but we only wanted to run our own organization, we have our hands full..

"This was the beginning but I want to emphasize that we didn't start working with the Peace and Freedom party because we saw a grand coalition developing, we started because we saw it was in our interest. We were trying to get people into those trucks to hold rallies. Let them talk about registering for peace and freedom, we were going to talk about Huey P. Newton. So once we got to the rallies, you had the white cats run down their bag, we ran down our bag, and we'd all leave. It began to seem artificial because we could relate to them because a lot of the things they were saying, we were saying. Our telephone rang long distance from Michigan asking what we were trying to do, 'sell out', or trying to become an integration party. We started explaining our needs and what we had to cope with, and asked if they could get the money for sound trucks. They said no, but we don't like what you're doing. Well (obscene) you, we're doing what we have to do. We defend this and are dedicated to what we have to do. We developed from that starting point in defending our coalition with the PFP and I know they defended us.

"There are a lot of people who are still saying that the BPP is a liability to the PFP and the whole effort to organize white folks. They feel you can't appeal to white folks if you're involved with crazy niggers running around with guns. That may be true, that by associating with the BPP at least some people won't associate with you. We say the BPP represents the best synthesis of what has been learned here in Babylon through the process of the black liberation struggle. That we take up a gun, following the preachment of Malcom X. While Malcom X was teaching we were listening and that the gun is not our whole program. There is no point, however, in deceiving ourselves that blacks and whites can continue to be separate with no violence, turn the other cheek and we will overcome. That's a lie. It's not going to happen like that and we'd all better realize it. People are not going to sit around and have cops throwing them away, throwing their friends and acquaintances away.

"Today we heard on the news that some cop in Inkster, Michigan, who shot a 14 year old black kid, received a verdict of justifiable homicide. Shot him dead because he would not heed an order to stop. It's no wonder we don't hear him say stop because when those pigs speak all we hear is oink. We cannot relate to the

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"deception that these pigs are here to protect the public or protect the people, that they won't harm you and will treat you friendly. I know people who would rather stay lost in a city the rest of their lives before they'd walk over and ask a pig for directions. I'll ask a pig for directions only as a last resort and then walk off in the opposite direction.

"One of the things that comes up when we talk to white radicals is, they say that's OK for you black asses in the ghettos but we're not ready for that yet. Our people aren't ready for that. The mere fact that he can understand what I mean tells me he understands and will set himself strategically for the right time to move. That we have to say to the white people in the PFP and the Citizens New Politics Party (CNP) here, here, that everyone who has divorced himself from the Democratic and Republican parties cause they don't endorse that (obscene) are radical. I call them radical, and I know this is a mistake according to some fine analysis made by many people. I call them revolutionaries.

"There's no getting around it, we're confronted with a revolutionary situation and we're going to have to respond to it or repent like they have in other countries where they debated whether to go left or right and while debating were swept to one side or the other. I would advocate if some don't want to move that we start kicking asses ourselves. Maybe you don't like that, I don't either, and I'm sorry you don't relate to that. I know the white people in this country are capable of dealing with the real problem, and capable of dealing with strong-arm tactics and oppressors in other countries. They have done it historically and I know when you say give me liberty or give me death, you still feel something. I know I feel something, and if I do, you must really swing for that. Give us liberty or life. Give me liberty or a gun. Give me liberty and the means to get a gun to wage a struggle for liberty.

"To all the women in the audience. I want to say that political power goes out of the barrel of a gun but in a real sense, political power goes out of the (obscene). Don't be insulted, I could say vagina. I know this is an educated community, but I want to get a point across. I think the time will come for women to use the ultimate weapon on the male which will be a revolutionary standard. You will tell these cats don't call you on the phone, don't knock on your door or write you letters, until you get yourself a gun, pick up the tool of liberation, get out into the street and take the people out into the street and liberate this country. When they do

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"that they can come back, but until then I would advocate you don't give them no sugar, cause if you do I mean you're 'counter revolutionary'. You will be giving aid and comfort to those who give aid and comfort to the enemy, and I don't know how you could stand having some simple headed cat chewing on you when he doesn't know what it is to be a man or understand the job that men are supposed to be doing.

"There's a job out there to be done. There's pigs out there armed to the teeth getting more every day. We'll let the men deal with them and we'll let the women deal with the meter maids.

"In response to a question asked about, 'the police murders in Los Angeles,' he said there were four passengers in a car and three were dead and the fourth had sought refuge with his family. The police got him to give up by sending out information that they knew where he was and would kill him if he didn't give up. His family persuaded him to give up. The cops had been following them around and after stopping the car began questioning them. They said someone made a fast move and the shooting started the cops up tight. Los Angeles is worse than New York. They walk up to a car with their guns drawn. We say we don't want these spontaneous situations developing where there is no machinery set up to deal with it. They take advantage of these situations and you're bound to lose where you're not prepared for it. Machinery should be set up in both the white and black community to deal with this situation in the dynamics of their own community. We think that the BPP has the nod of the black community. The NAACP is not good for anything but throwing obstacles in the path of the revolution. CORE has also become nonfunctional and SNCC has its problems, so the people can no longer depend on these organizations. SCLC and non-violence died with Dr. Martin Luther King. So the people are listening to the BPP and we get that feeling. As president I would give this country a revolutionary domestic and foreign policy; and all we have to do is take it and make some specific applications of some universal principals right here in Babylon and I'm ready now.

"If we start now we should get rid of our colonies, release our slaves, call the armies home and withdraw the dagger from the heart of the world. Get out of Guantanamo Bay, get out of Vietnam and withdraw all of the bases from around the world.

"Huey Newton has a good chance because the state's witness said he wouldn't testify for fear of incriminating himself. When the judge gave him immunity he still wouldn't talk because he had been

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"to rallies and demonstrations and knew to do it would in a manner of speaking be committing suicide. No one threatened him but he recognized that to do what the district attorney wanted him to would be to cooperate with the arm that the power structure uses to oppress black people and he couldn't relate to that anymore.

"The organization should not shun the political arena in this country; not to sanctify what's going on there but to try to straighten it out. To shun the electoral system would be to acknowledge that they have the authority. They merely have the power to inflict pain if you don't do what they say. The poor peoples campaign failed because there were too many fat rich preachers involved who were wearing new overalls and came into Washington to negotiate back door deals with the racist heads of committees. Boot licking is out of style, there are no dividends in that.

"When we have a poor march on Washington, we'll clean out the halls of government and sweep all the pigs into the garbage can. Regarding protection for candidates, Johnson has surrounded his opponents with pigs who give him a running account of all they say and do. I don't want that, just give us the equipment. He recalled a fellow writing in his notebook that most candidates have to be protected from the people by the pigs but Cleaver has to be protected from the pigs by the people.

"I would ask all to support me before the California Department of Corrections who would deny me the right to travel for politics and I don't think they can deny me that right. I will go wherever I need to when the time arises.

"The Peace and Freedom Party, if they have had the image of being a pacifist group, must correct this image. You get out in the street and demand and get a change. I have faith that the P and FP will adopt a platform, and if I have accepted the nomination I'd have to be prepared to accept it. If I were to suggest a Vice Presidential candidate, I'd try to get people to accept Jerry Rubin.

"Women can be good revolutionaries, such is the case in Vietnam and Cuba, but I think the men should get there first. Too many organizations have come along and tried to speak for all the black people and indicate what the black people want. I recommend a U.N. supervised plebiscite to be held for all black people in this country to address themselves to the question of whether they want separation or integration, and they are the only ones who are entitled to decide on this question of their national destiny. There should

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Re: Eldridge Cleaver, Etc.

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"be a plebiscite for white people too on the same question, because a decision thus arrived at would dictate certain action for both sides.

"The basic contradiction between the interest of the people and the present structure of the American economy is the institution of private property. The basis of the economy must be changed to social ownership of the property and substitute cooperation for competition. We think that every man, woman and child has a right to the highest standard of living that knowledge and technology can produce. In short, we have to start talking about socialism.

"Dick Gregory is a nice guy and I hope he wins, but like I always say, he's a comedian and this is no laughing matter. To have a comedian as head of a revolutionary organization gives people the wrong impression that it was a laugh. Gregory doesn't have a political outlook and hasn't been involved in setting up the machinery. I don't see him as a candidate. If others do, (obscene), let him do it.

"The Communist Party and some other groups of the old left have based their philosophy on what has happened in other countries and trying to apply it here where it has no application. They all are saying I am the true representative of Marxism - Leninism, and there has to be something wrong somewhere. They can't all be right. I don't care what candidates they're running, colored or not, it doesn't legitimatize what they say. I think we have to take another look at what Marx, Lenin and Trotsky had to say and act accordingly.

"There are other groups developing but it seems anyone who can't go with the other parties and can relate to us ought to come on in with us. There is no reason at the eleventh hour why we should come to cross purposes. We don't need a lot of little doodads, we need a machine.

"We are aware that black workers were given that program some decades ago, and they have failed to come forward and lead the revolution under the CP, and we're tired of waiting. We don't care if he's a worker or if he's unemployed, a drop-out or rich, he should get down and we'll move this thing. We say that black people have to deal with the economics struggle as well as white racism, so we don't just have one but two struggles. Blacks have to deal with special problems such as community imperialism which prevent him from just participating in a class struggle. We have to deal with some of these universal grievances that cut across community lines and you'll



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"find whites and blacks are talking about the same things. But we're not going to talk about these now because we are talking about a white revolution in the white mother country and a black liberation struggle in the black colony.

"I couldn't envision a situation where, if I were president, I wouldn't give aid to those struggling for liberation. We want to abolish the draft, and get together an Abraham Lincoln Brigade to go over and overthrow some of those repressive colonial regimes.

"We're not basing our strategy on winning, but I don't care if no one votes. I know our strength is adequate but must be organized to make it attractive as a program to others and doesn't relate in any way to 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.

"Those that are more sophisticated politically should come down a peg and join in and not remain aloof and thumbing their nose at the others. We have to communicate by word and literature to those we want to reach and consolidate a base for an organization. Politically channels are all there, and everyone controls the guy on the next level down. You have to confront these pigs and get out there. The Kerner report told us only what we already knew. The programs are set up now to buy some Negroes in the community and to eliminate those they can't buy.

"Anarchists cannot handle things because you need machinery to get things done and if you tear it all down, you have no machinery to wrest power from those who have usurped power. The idea of black capitalism is just a means of trying to get people to think things are better or getting better, and it won't work. We don't want to endorse government grants to anyone for anything because it's buying more time for the regime.

"We are relating to electoral politics because of this particular time we think it suits our purpose. We hope to use it. The BPP has other programs and we'll work on them and be flexible to the times.

"Bobby Seale and Newton always amazed me because everybody talked about police brutality but nobody did anything. They set up a party, armed themselves, got an old car and went out on the streets of Oakland at night and followed the pigs around. When they stopped a citizen they were thereto speak up for him. They had their pieces and the cops had theirs and they were prepared to defend themselves if they had to.

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"We need some strategic retreats around the country to take care of a lot of people and Stokely's place could accommodate a lot of people. The BPP is not a bodyguard outfit but is a political party."

[REDACTED]  
August 16, 1968

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Re: Eldridge Cleaver

B. Convention Security Measures:

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(1) Harrassment and Security at Hill Auditorium:

During the pre-convention activities on the U of M campus and during the period of the holding of the Michigan State Convention of the CNP at the U of M, there was scheduled on the afternoon of August 15, 1968, a speaking appearance by Eldridge Cleaver, Black Panther Party (BPP), who was the favored nominee for the office of President of the United States of the CNP Convention. The sources advised that Cleaver was to appear at Hill Auditorium on the U of M campus at 4:00 p.m., and that a crowd of some 350 - 500 persons awaited his appearance until 9:40 p.m., when it was announced that he would not appear. Sources advised that during this period, there was evidence to unusual security measures by a group of "body guard" type Negro males who were considered to be part of Cleaver's or the BPP's security detail. These individuals made a thorough search of the Hill Auditorium, searching the entire building, wiring, rafters, et cetera, and thereafter posted guards at the entrance and exits. A guard detail of some six individuals, including [redacted] posted themselves at the rear exit to the auditorium where they permitted no entrance or exit from the building, even to university maintenance and other personnel. Sources advised that during the long wait of the expected attendees to this meeting, objections of persons who had purchased tickets were made with considerable harrassment and on announcement that Cleaver would not appear and on announcement that the admission monies would not be refunded, the above-described "guard detail" permitted no one to enter the auditorium, locked the front entrances, and reportedly exited from the rear.

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Richard Hyland, who described himself as the National Coordinator for the Peace and Freedom Party, addressed the crowd and gave an interview to an area radio station stating that Cleaver had been delayed and that it was anticipated he would reschedule his speech on the following day at Ann Arbor, Michigan, where tickets would be honored or an attempt would be made at refunds.

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August 15, and 16, 1968

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Re: Eldridge Cleaver

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(2) Harrassment and Security at Canterbury House:

Sources advised that Eldridge Cleaver, BPP, in connection with his candidacy for the office of President of the United States for the PFP - NP Parties Convention, spoke at the Canterbury House, Episcopal Student Religious Center, U of M, Ann Arbor, Michigan, August 16, 1968. Sources advised that in connection with this appearance, a group of from six to eight Negro males, who were ostensibly a guard or security detail for Eldridge Cleaver, made a physical search of the premises and made a physical search of some of the attendees, denying admittance to some. They refused admission to press representatives.

[redacted] August 16 and 17, 1968 (U)

[redacted] on August 17, 1968, made a complaint to the Ann Arbor Police Department that he was searched by an armed guard on admission to the above speech and that in the question and answer period following the speech of Eldridge Cleaver when he referred to the profane and obscene language of the speech, he claimed to have been bodily removed from the Canterbury House and subjected to harrassment by individuals connected with this speaking appearance.

(3) Militant Groups and Weaponry:

(a) Armed Guards at Meeting:

A source advised in August, 1968, that following the speaking engagement of Eldridge Cleaver at Ann Arbor, Michigan, August 16, 1968, voting, elected delegates of the Michigan CNP and others selected by [redacted]

[redacted] Michigan. This reception was held and lasted from approximately 11:00 p.m. to 2:00 a.m., on August 17, 1968. Source advised that both the front and rear entrances to the [redacted] inside, were guarded by two husky Negro males posted at each entrance, with one guard roving throughout the house. Source said two of these guards had pump-action shotguns while three had Carbines,

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polished blue, with attached scope sights. Source further advised these guards had "banana clips" of ammunition and filled bandoliers of ammunition stocked nearby. He noted that all gunbearers carried under belts long hunting knives. Source advised that these five individuals were referred to as members of Cleaver's BPP, one of whom was identified to him as [redacted]

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[redacted]  
August 17, 1968

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(b) Traffic in Weapons:

A source advised in August, 1968, that at about 7:00 p.m., on August 16, 1968, four Negro males appeared together at the Ann Arbor, Michigan, residence of [redacted]

[redacted] Ann Arbor, Michigan. Source advised they departed with rifles bearing telescopic sights. Source advised that these individuals arrived together in two cars described as a [redacted]

[redacted] bearing Michigan license [redacted] and [redacted] [redacted] bearing Michigan license [redacted]

These individuals returned to the [redacted] residence at about 2:00 a.m., on August 17, 1968. Source advised that [redacted] was known to source [redacted]

Ypsilanti, Michigan, and active with the SDS organization.

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[redacted]  
August 17, 1968

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A source advised that [redacted], on August 15, 1968, rented at Ann Arbor, Michigan, a 1968 Oldsmobile Cutlass, yellow hardtop, bearing Michigan license [redacted]. A second source advised that [redacted] described by him as a Negro male, former leader of an area "black militant" organization, used this vehicle in transporting Eldridge Cleaver to various speaking engagements at Ann Arbor, Michigan, during the period August 16 - 18, 1968, and was commonly referred to as Cleaver's "Ann Arbor body guard".

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August 18, 1968

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(c) Harrassment of Officers:

In connection with the PFP - NP Convention, held August 17 - 18, 1968, a source advised there was considerable verbal harrassment to local law enforcement officers who were engaged in either policing the convention traffic or who encountered traffic violations by persons in Ann Arbor at that time in connection with the convention. Comments were made to the effect "If you think you have problems here, wait til we get to Chicago." Source advised that frequent criticism was made of harrassments of convention participants by area officers in policing traffic matters.

[redacted] August 19, 1968 (J)

(d) Harrassments of Ann Arbor, Michigan, Police Department

A source advised at the time of the initial appearance of Eldridge Cleaver at Ann Arbor, Michigan, in connection with his speaking engagement at Canterbury House, Ann Arbor, August 16, 1968, there appeared at the site of his speech, a vehicle described as a 1965 Cadillac, bearing a California license [redacted] which vehicle contained some six Negro males who by their actions at the speaking engagement, appeared to be part of Eldridge Cleaver's guard or security detail. The vehicle was determined to be registered to one [redacted] California. This vehicle was stopped by officers of the Ann Arbor Police Department on August 17, 1968, in connection with a local traffic matter.

A source advised that following the close of the convention proceedings of the PFP - NP Convention at Ann Arbor on August 17, 1968, some 150 attendees of the convention moved as a group on the Ann Arbor Police Department offices vigorously protesting what they claimed as "harrassment of delegates". The group appeared to have as its principal spokesman one [redacted]

[redacted] who demanded that there be an end to this harrassment or "We'll have to do something". Comments from the crowd included statements to the effect "We'll make it another Berkeley" and

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Re: Eldridge Cleaver

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"Treat them like we do in Oakland" Source advised that present in the crowd were [redacted]

Source noted that [redacted] and [redacted] aided in quieting the crowd and the group dispersed peacefully without incident. Source advised that the move of this group against the Police Department appeared to have been precipitated by the earlier traffic violation involving [redacted] Source advised that he knew [redacted] and [redacted] to be prominently identified with SDS leadership in Ann Arbor.

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Source advised similarly at the close of the convention session on August 18, 1968, the convention assembled reportedly was dispersed after an announcement at the convention of police harassment against Thomas Hayden, an SDS spokesman at the convention. He advised that a large crowd took to the streets, but that only a small delegation headed by a [redacted] appeared at the Ann Arbor Police Department protesting harassment by law enforcement agencies against convention participants. He said this group continued to protest against the Ann Arbor Police Department through August 19, 1968, the date following the convention, however, their activities did not result in any violence or in any arrests.

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[redacted]  
August 16, 17, 18, and  
19, 1968

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(e) Rabble Rouser Activity:

Source advised that in connection with the PFP - NP Convention, Ann Arbor, there were reported several instances of what appeared to be rabble rousing activity. He advised that at the close of the convention, evening of August 17, 1968, Professor Thomas Mayer of the U of M, known to the source as a sponsor to the "New Left" at the U of M, stood up and shouted something to the effect "The police are arresting the Black Panthers. What are you going to do about it? You know what to do about it." Following this comment by Mayer, a crowd of some 150 convention participants left the convention floor and proceeded to the Ann Arbor Police Department. Source advised additionally that [redacted] accompanied by [redacted] Ann Arbor

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Re: Eldridge Cleaver

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Area Chairman of the Congress Of Racial Equality (CORE), reportedly on the evening of August 17, 1968, made comments in convention caucuses at the U of M, Ann Arbor, concerning numerous alleged arrests of BPP personnel none of which arrests, in fact, had been made. Source said that such "rabble rousing" comments also reportedly precipitated the crowd disruption of this convention on the following evening, August 18, 1968, when similar harrassment by local authorities was alleged.

[ ] [ ]  
August 17, and 18, 1968

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Re: Eldridge Cleaver, etc.

(4) Security Measures at Convention:

Sources advised that in connection with the Peace and Freedom Parties-New Politics Parties (PFP-NPP), Ann Arbor convention, August 17-18, 1968, there was constantly present with Eldridge Cleaver and present at locations where he spoke or appeared a well defined BPP security or guard detail. These individuals publicly displayed no arms to the observation of sources, however, they secured entrances to doors where Cleaver was meeting with caucuses or individuals, searched some individuals on being admitted to places where he spoke or met with other individuals, and denied admittance to some individuals. They insured that the press was not admitted to his presence. Source advised that almost invariably while in Ann Arbor, Michigan, during the period August 16-19, 1968, Eldridge Cleaver when moving about was driven in a car driven by [redacted] of Ann Arbor, Michigan. Sources advised that those individuals concerned with the operation of the convention, particularly [redacted] of California, who [redacted] repeatedly stated their conviction that convention delegates, specifically Eldridge Cleaver, and [redacted] were being harassed in their movements about Ann Arbor, Michigan, by a right wing Detroit, Michigan, organization known as "Breakthrough". [redacted] on August 17 and 18, 1968, officially reported to local authorities such harassment and requested the presence of police officers in the ballroom of the Michigan Union, U of M, Ann Arbor, Michigan, where the convention was being held.

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[redacted] [redacted] [redacted] }  
August 16 through 19, 1968

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C. NEGRO MILITANT YOUTH ACTIVITY:

(1) Attendance at Convention:

Sources advised at the PFP-CNP, Ann Arbor convention, August 17-18, 1968, the nominations of candidates for the office of President of the United States were made on the evening of August 17, 1968. One of the nominees for this office was Eldridge Cleaver of the Black Panther Party. During Cleaver's

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acceptance speech following his nomination a group of some 100 Negro youths estimated to be between the ages of 14 and 16 years entered the convention hall all attired in what appeared to be a uniform of sorts. They wore black shirts and trousers and they were discussed among convention participants as having come from either Inkster or Detroit, Michigan. Sources advised that they appeared to be there as a dramatic support group for the nomination of Eldridge Cleaver.

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[redacted] [redacted] [redacted]  
August 17, 1968

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Sources advised that the same group of young Negro youths referred to above, however, a group smaller in number, appeared at the convention site on the afternoon of August 18, 1968. Sources advised that this group was closeted with Eldridge Cleaver and his associates in a side room of the Michigan Union, U of M, Ann Arbor, for a two or three hour period. Sources advised that a BPP guard was posted at the door and granted admission to Negroes only; however, source noted that all Negroes attempting to enter the room were not admitted. Sources advised they knew of no significance either concerning the group's visit to the convention, who they represented nor the purpose of the meeting. Source advised that the group appeared to relate closely to Cleaver and the BPP associates of Cleaver.

[redacted] [redacted] [redacted]  
August 18, 1968

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(2) Citizens' Harassment:

A source advised that on the evening of August 18, 1968, following the convention of the PFP-CNP convention at the Michigan Union, U of M, and near the convention site several citizens alleged having been accosted by Negro youths, 14 to 16 years of age, dressed in black shirts and black trousers. Source advised there was no wide-spread activity of this nature but that some three such incidents were reported, the significant aspect of each instance being the claim that each such assault was unprovoked. These instances appeared to source to have involved simply a Negro youth approaching a white passerby striking him in the face without comment or other incident.

[redacted]  
August 19, 1968

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Re: Eldridge Cleaver, etc.

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IV. INFORMATION CONCERNING SOME INDIVIDUALS REFERRED TO HEREIN:

- A. LeRoy Eldridge Cleaver, commonly known as Eldridge Cleaver

Eldridge Cleaver is the Minister of Information for the Black Panther Party (BPP).

[redacted]  
August 22, 1968

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A characterization for the BPP appears in the appendix attached hereto.

B. [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]  
August 18, 1968

[redacted]  
June 6, 1968

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C. [redacted]

[redacted]

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Re: Eldridge Cleaver. etc.

[Redacted]

[Redacted] August 18, 1968

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D. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] June 6, and August 18, 1968

(U)

E. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

F. [Redacted]

[Redacted]

[Redacted] August 15, 1968

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Re: Eldridge Cleaver, etc.

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] November 9, 1951

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A characterization of the LYL appears  
in the appendix attached hereto.

G.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] August 17, 1968

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H.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

I.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

A characterization of the "National  
Guardian" appears in the appendix  
attached hereto.

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Re: Eldridge Cleaver, etc.

J. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] August 17, 1968

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A source advised that [REDACTED] of Ann Arbor, Michigan, was one of a group of delegates to the New Politics National Convention, held in Chicago, Illinois, August - September, 1967, who signed a motion endorsing the "black caucus" demands of this convention. In this material, he was referred to as a member of the Ann Arbor CNP organization.

[REDACTED] September 12, 1967

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A source advised in August, 1968, that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] August 18, 1968

(U)

K. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

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funds for transmittal to the National Liberation Front (NLF) in Vietnam.

[redacted] June 6, 1968

(U)

A characterization of the W.E.B. DuBois Clubs of America is contained in the appendix attached hereto.

L. Jerry Rubin

Jerry Rubin attended one session of the 18th National Convention Communist Party, United States of America (CP, USA), which was held in New York City in 1966. Rubin attended the convention as an observer.

[redacted] June 21, 1966

(U)

M. [redacted]

[redacted] June 6, 1968

(U)

N. Bobby Seale

Bobby George Seale is the current chairman of the BPP.

[redacted] August 22, 1968

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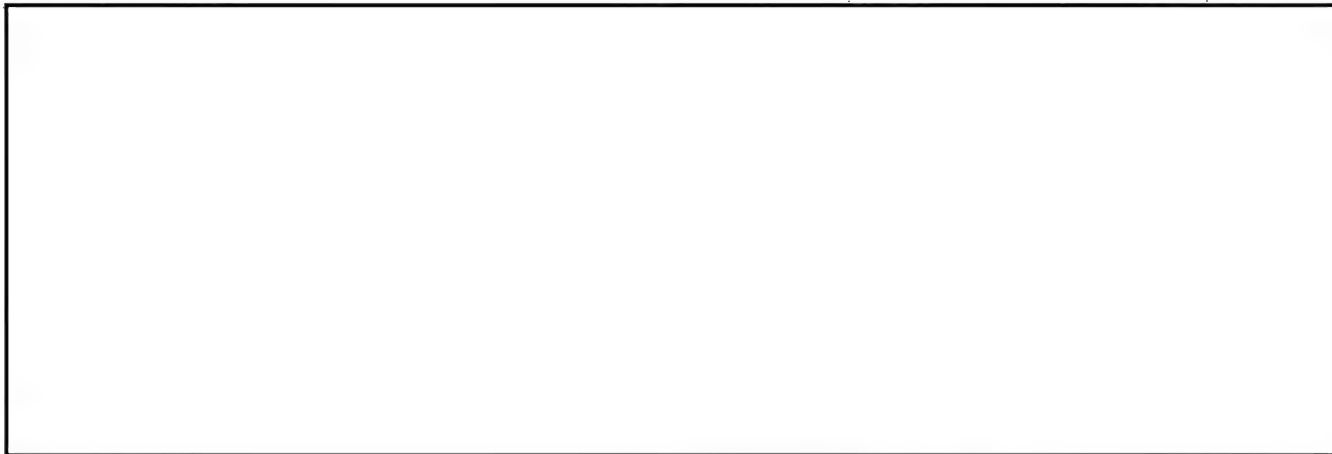
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Re: Eldridge Cleaver, etc.

O. [redacted]



[redacted] August 18, 1968

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P. [redacted]

A source, in March, 1968, described [redacted]



[redacted] March 20, 1968

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A characterization of BPP appears  
in the appendix attached hereto.

This document contains neither recommendations nor  
conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is  
loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be  
distributed outside your agency.

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Re: Eldridge Cleaver, etc.

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
Also Known As  
Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (BPPSD)

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality," to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

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Re: Eldridge ~~Seaver~~, etc.

~~APPENDIX~~

"NATIONAL GUARDIAN"

The "Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications", revised and published December 1, 1961, prepared and released by the Committee on Un-American Activities, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., on page 193 cites "National Guardian" as being "established by the American Labor Party in 1947, as a 'progressive' weekly \*\*\*. Although it denies having any affiliate with the Communist Party, it has manifested itself from the beginning as a virtual official propaganda arm of Soviet Russia".

(Committee on Un-American Activities, Report, Trial By Treason: The National Committee to Secure Justice for the ROSENBERGS and MORTON SOBELL, August 25, 1956, p. 12)

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Re: Eldridge Cleaver, etc.

APPENDIX

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STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) as it is known today came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us". At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-Communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some Communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

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Re: Eldridge (Casper), etc.

W.E.B. DU BOIS CLUBS OF AMERICA (DCA)

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A source advised that on October 26 - 27, 1966 a conference of members of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), including national functionaries, met in Chicago, Illinois for the purpose of setting in motion forces for the establishment of a new national Marxist-oriented youth organization which would hunt for the most peaceful transition to socialism. The delegates were told that it would be reasonable to assume that the young socialists attracted into this new organization would eventually pass into the CP itself.

A second source has advised that the founding convention for the new youth organization was held from June 18 - 21, 1966, at 150 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco, California, at which time the name W.E.B. Du Bois Clubs of America (DCA) was adopted. Approximately 500 delegates from throughout the United States attended this convention.

The second source advised in September, 1966 that HIRSH ZIGARELL, CPUSA Youth Director, stated that in Negro communities the Party still supported the plan to build "left" socialist centers and to solidify the Party base through the DCA. This source also advised in September, 1966, that DANIEL RUBIN, CPUSA National Organizational Secretary, stated the Party believes the DCA should have a working-class outlook and be a mass organization favorable to socialism, socialist countries and Marxism, and in April, 1967, advised that GUS HALL, CPUSA General Secretary, indicated the DCA primary emphasis should be on developing mass resistance to the draft.

A third source advised in September, 1967 that MARVIS TYNER was elected Chairman of the DCA on September 10, 1967 at the Third National Convention of the DCA held in New York, New York, from September 8 - 10, 1967.

A fourth source advised during August, 1967 that MARVIS TYNER is a member of the National Committee of the CPUSA.

A fifth source advised on September 21, 1967 that the headquarters of the DCA is located at 24 West 17th Street, New York, New York.

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Re: Eldridge Cleaver, etc.

APPENDIX

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YOUNG SOCIALIST ALLIANCE

The May, 1960, issue of the "Young Socialist" (YS), page one, column three, disclosed that during April 15 - 17, 1960, a national organization entitled "The Young Socialist Alliance" (YSA) was established at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This issue stated that this organization was formed by the nationwide supporter clubs of the publication YS.

The above issue, page six, set forth the Founding Declaration of the YSA. This declaration stated that the YSA recognizes the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) as the only existing political leadership on class struggle principles, and that the supporters of the YS have come into basic political solidarity with the SWP on the principles of revolutionary Socialism.

On March 10, 1967, a source advised that the YSA was formed during 1957 by youth of various left Socialist tendencies particularly members and followers of the SWP. The source further advised that the YSA has recently become more open about admitting that it is the youth group of the SWP and that an SWP representative has publicly stated that the YSA is the SWP's youth group.

The headquarters of the YSA are located in Rooms 532-536, 41 Union Square West, New York City.

The SWP has been designated pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

TO : Assistant Attorney General  
**Criminal Division**

FROM : Director, FBI

SUBJECT: **LEROY ELDREDGE CLEAVER  
RM-BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
ANTIRIOT LAWS**

DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

Attn: [REDACTED]  
Room 2110 Justice Building

FILE COPY

b6  
b7C

Reference is made to \_\_\_\_\_ memorandum dated \_\_\_\_\_  
(your file \_\_\_\_\_).

There is enclosed one copy of ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~  
~~XXXXXX~~ memorandum dated 8/15/68  
at Los Angeles.

A. ☐ This covers the preliminary investigation and no further action concerning a full investigation will be taken by this Bureau unless the Department so directs.

B. ☐ The investigation is continuing and you will be furnished copies of reports as they are received.

C. ☐ The investigation requested by you has now been completed. Unless advised to the contrary no further inquiries will be made by this Bureau.

D. ☐ Pursuant to instructions issued by the Department, no investigation will be conducted in this matter unless specifically directed by the Department.

E. ☐ Please advise whether you desire any further investigation.

F. ☐ This is submitted for your information and you will be advised of further developments.

G. ☒ This is submitted for your information and no further investigation will be conducted unless specifically requested by the Department.

H. ☐ This covers the receipt of a complaint and no further action will be taken by this Bureau unless the Department so directs.

Enc. 1

*Fix*

ORIGINAL FILED  
343 5-7-91

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

TO : Mr. Sullivan

FROM : G. C. Moore *GC Moore*

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

PURPOSE:

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Rosen

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

- 1 - Mr. G. C. Moore
- 1 - Mr. [redacted]

b6  
b7C

To give details of highly inflammatory speech given  
by subject to Negro youths at education program sponsored by  
Xerox Corporation, Rochester, New York, 7/26/68.

EX-CONVICT - PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE:

Cleaver is the Minister of Information of the Black  
Panther Party (BPP), the most active black extremist organi-  
zation in the country today. He is on parole after serving  
eight years in California penitentiaries for assault with a  
deadly weapon which arose out of an attempted rape. He is  
the nominee of the Peace and Freedom Party for President of  
the United States.

XEROX CORPORATION GUEST SPEAKER:

The Xerox Corporation, Rochester, New York, hired  
190 Negro youths for summer work and participation in a  
public training and education project. Without the knowledge  
of Xerox officials, the subject was invited to speak to these  
youths on 7/26/68. Buffalo previously submitted a brief  
account of the speech and has now submitted a complete  
transcript.

CALLS FOR INSURRECTION:

Cleaver consistently referred to members of the  
white race as pigs and applied this epithet to law enforce-  
ment in general and to the President of the United States.  
He encouraged his audience to join the BPP and burn down

RMH:fhm (7)

CONTINUED - OVER

51

SEP 10 1968

RACIAL INT. SEC

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan  
RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

or blow up the Xerox Corporation. He assured his audience that the Negroes are going to arm themselves, learn how to make bombs and to obtain dynamite to be used against "the pigs and the power structure." Typical of his statements is the following:

"If you all got together...joined the Black Panther Party and all these niggers across this country got together and joined the Black Panther Party and got themselves some guns, people would all listen...so if we got ourselves together and we walked on any Army base and take one (hydrogen bomb) because as long as he has a hydrogen bomb pointed at us, we got to have one pointed at him and say 'well, push it (obscene) cause I'm pushing mine'."

Xerox Corporation officials are aware of the above and have made available a tape of Cleaver's speech. They have also taken action against the two New York City Xerox employees who arranged for Cleaver's appearance. The New York Office has been instructed to open cases on these two individuals to determine their connections with the Black Panther Party or any other extremist group.

ACTION:

Transcripts of the speech are being furnished separately to the Criminal Division of the Department in connection with possible Antiriot Laws violations and to the Internal Security Division in connection with possible violations of the Overthrow of the Government or related statutes.

*[Handwritten signatures and initials: "GMO", "W.C. G.", "✓", "\$", "R"]*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

~~SECRET~~

1 - Mr. R. M. Horner

SAC, San Francisco

DATE: 02-21-2006

012120

Director, FBI

CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DG/EHL

Classification per OGA letter dated 01-30-2006

HUEY P. NEWTON

RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

b6

b7C

✓ LEROY KIDRIDGE CLEAVER

RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Bufile: 100-447251

Sffile: 100-55520

The Legat, Mexico City, has submitted three reels  
of recording tape.

(S)

The reels have been transcribed at the Bureau and  
copies of the statements of the subjects are enclosed for  
San Francisco and the Legat, Mexico City.

(S)

The  
statements are messages to the Cuban people and apparently  
were made to be broadcast over Radio Havana.

Although the speech by Cleaver was replete with  
revolutionary statements, it is not being furnished to the  
Department for a prosecutive opinion because there is no  
evidence that the speech was ever publicized in the  
United States.

Pertinent portions of the speeches should be  
included in the next reports concerning the subjects.

The above statements appeared on one reel of tape.  
A second reel contained a recording of a press conference  
given by Attorney Charles Garry concerning the Huey Newton  
trial. It does not contain any significant information and,  
therefore, was not transcribed. The third tape submitted by  
the Legat, Mexico City, contained only a musical recording.  
The copies of the three tapes are being forwarded to  
San Francisco separately for any disposition desired.

Enclosures - 4

SEP-12-1968 Legat Mexico City (100-3046) (Enclosures - 4)

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit  
RMH:lvh (9)

100-447251-  
NOT RECORDED

133 SEP 9 1968

DUPLICATE YELLOW

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: 9/6/68

FROM : SAC, Buffalo (157 610)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
(HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

SUBJECT:

LERROY ELDRIDGE  
RM - BPP

DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

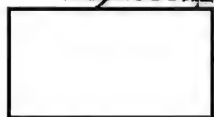
ReBulet, 8/30/68, Bureau R/S, 9/3/68, and Bulet, 9/5/68.

Pursuant to Bureau instructions, there is enclosed herewith the original copy of a tape recording of subject's speech in Rochester, N.Y., on 7/26/68. Buffalo does not have equipment to effectively copy this tape, and the Bureau is requested to make a copy which can be furnished to the Department for review. When the copy is completed, the original should be returned to Buffalo for retention.

- ③ - Bureau (Enc. 1) (RM)  
(1 copy with enclosure)
- 1 - Buffalo

CES:afe  
(4)

ENCLOSURE



*(enclosure  
released  
R. 804)*

*not necessary  
per BUA  
9/18/68*

b6  
b7C

100-447251-

NOT RECORDED

SEP 9 1968  
BY 100-447251-10

1-80 126 10 1 23 64 80

INT. SEC.



54 SEP 13 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

September 9, 1968

Director, FBI

1 -  b6  
1 - Mr. Horner b7C

①  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

2  
WBC

A memorandum concerning the subject is enclosed. Your letter dated March 7, 1968, noted that statements such as those quoted in the enclosed memorandum could violate Title 18, U. S. Code, Sections 2383, 2384, or 2385, proscribing, respectively, the crimes of rebellion or insurrection, seditious conspiracy, and advocating the violent overthrow of the Government. A prosecutive opinion is, therefore, requested.

A copy of the enclosed memorandum is also being referred to the Criminal Division of the Department in connection with possible violations of the Antiriot Laws.

Enclosure

NOTE:

Cleaver is Minister of Information of Black Panther Party. He gave a highly inflammatory speech to a group of young Negroes at the Xerox Corporation, Rochester, New York, 7/26/68. Buffalo has submitted a transcript of a tape of the speech. Enclosure is copy of Buffalo memorandum dated 8/30/68. The referral to the Criminal Division is being handled by the General Investigative Division.

RMH:fhd (5)

REC-40

157-9511-10  
100-447251-45X5  
19 SEP 11 1968

57 SEP 13 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐



FBI

Date: 9/10/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, BUFFALO (157-649)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVE ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
RM - BPP HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

ReBulet, 9/6/68.

Relet furnished the Bureau with a copy of a tape recording of subject's speech in Rochester, N.Y., on 7/26/68, pursuant to Bureau instructions. This tape was described as the original copy in referenced letter, but contact with Xerox Corporation, Rochester, N.Y., determines this is a copy and the original is being maintained at Xerox.

Bureau is requested to disregard instructions in relet to make a copy of this tape, which can now be furnished to the Department for review at the Bureau.

(3) - Bureau (AM-RM)  
1 - Buffalo

CES:afe  
(4)

EX 110

REC-12

C. C. Bishop

100-447251-46

2 SEP 11 1968

b6

b7C

Approved: *[Signature]*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

WASH DC ---1---

10-29 PM URGENT 9-19-68 KH  
TO DIRECTOR 100-447251 PLAINTEXT  
FROM LOS ANGELES 157-2323

VIA TELETYPE  
100-447251  
SEP 19 1968

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

LEREOY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RM-BP DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

b6

b7C

b6

b7C

[REDACTED] UCLA CAMPUS POLICE, ADVISED THIS DA [REDACTED]

DEMONSTRATION SUPPORTING CLEAVER'S APPOINTMENT AS

LECTURER AT UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT BERKELEY HELD TODAY AT

MC GOVERN HALL ON UCLA CAMPUS WHERE BOARD OF REGENTS

HOLDING MEETING. DEMONSTRATION BEGAN ONE PM WITH APPROXIMATELY

TWENTY FIVE DEMONSTRATORS PRESENT. BY THREE PM APPROXIMATELY

ONE HUNDRED FIFTY DEMONSTRATORS OUTSIDE AND AROUND HALL AND

ONE <sup>HUN</sup> ~~ONE~~ HUNDRED FIFTY MORE DEMONSTRATORS CIRCULATED. DEMONSTRATION

SUPPORTED BY SDS AND OTHER CAMPUS GROUPS AND COMPOSED MAINLY OF

STUDENTS AND FACULTY. DEMONSTRATION ENDED FIVE FIFTEEN PM THIS DATE.

DEMONSTRATION ORDERLY, NO INCIDENTS, NO ARRESTS. INFORMATION

RECEIVED SIMILAR DEMONSTRATION WILL BE HELD SEPTEMBER TWENTY

<sup>A</sup>  
NEAR ~~THE~~ SAME LOCATION.

ADMINISTRATION

~~NO~~ BUREAU IN POSSESSION CHARACTERIZATION OF SDS AGENCIES

COGNIZANT. LOS ANGELES WILL FOLLOW AND BUREAU WILL BE ADVISED.

END 51 OCT-2-1968

TELETYPE TO:

REC'D DOM INTELL DIA

RM FBI WASH DC

MR. TRAINOR  
ROOM 836 9&D

FTB

EX 110

REC-65

100-447251-47

SEP 23 1968



LA 157-2323

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Coliseum on the evening of 8/27/68. Source, who at the request of [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] recalled observing an individual resembling CLEAVER speak at this affair, but noted that she was situated some distance from the speakers platform and did not have the opportunity to get a close look at this individual.

Source, after viewing photographs of CLEAVER, [REDACTED] and others from the Black Nationalist Photo Album, again advised that although she observed an individual who resembled CLEAVER, because of the distance involved, she could not state with any degree of certainty that this individual was in fact CLEAVER.

b6  
b7C

Source unable to furnish any information regarding Chicago activities of [REDACTED]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FBI

Date: 9/18/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL  
(Priority)

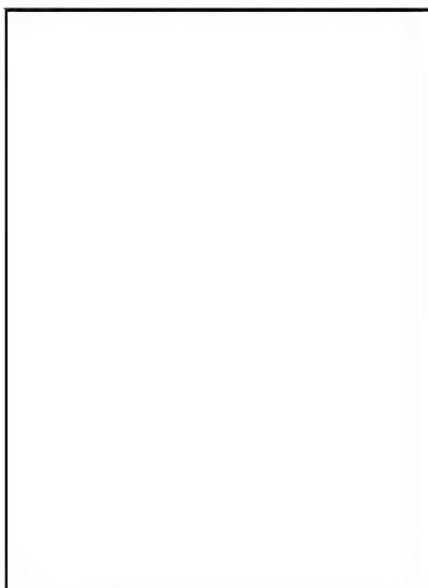
TO : DIRECTOR, FBI ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

SUBJECT:



CARBON COPY

LERROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER;  
RM - BPP  
(SF 100-55520)  
(Bufile 100-447251)



100-447251-

NOT RECORDED  
128 SEP 24 1968

10 - Bureau (RM)  
7 - San Francisco

TC/klw #9  
(17)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7C

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-9367-5

b6  
b7C

SF 157-1199  
TC/klw

[REDACTED]  
Oakland PD, Oakland, California, advised on 9/18/68, that the above Subjects appeared in court of Judge REDMOND STAATS, Alameda County Superior Court, Oakland, California, on 9/17/68, with their attorney [REDACTED] when at that time LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER entered a plea of not guilty to 3 charges of attempted murder and 3 charges of assault with a deadly weapon on a police officer. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

Judge STAATS set date of trial for 12/2/68, and indicated that he would entertain motions for separate trials for each defendant and added that in the event separate trials are held, he would hold trial of [REDACTED] first.

A motion has been filed by attorney CARRY to quash all indictments against Subjects on the grounds that the Grand Jury which indicted Subjects was illegally constituted.

All of the above Subjects are presently on bond with the exception of [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

For the information of the Bureau, indictments were returned on the above Subjects as the result of a shoot-out by these individuals with officers of the Oakland California PD, which occurred on 4/6/68. On this occasion, BOBBY HUTTON, Black Panther Party treasurer, was killed by police officers and two police officers were wounded.

San Francisco will follow and report further developments in this matter.

ALL OF THE ABOVE SUBJECTS SHOULD BE  
CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

VIA TELETYPE

SEP 21 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson.....  
Mr. DeLoach.....  
Mr. Mohr.....  
Mr. Bishop.....  
Mr. Casper.....  
Mr. Callahan.....  
Mr. Conrad.....  
Mr. Felt.....  
Mr. Gale.....  
Mr. Rosen.....  
Mr. Sullivan.....  
Mr. Tavel.....  
Mr. Trotter.....  
Tele. Room.....  
Miss Holmes.....  
Miss Gandy.....

WASH DC ---1---

10-08 PM DEFERRED 9-20-68 KH

TO DIRECTOR 100-447251 PLAINTEXT

FROM LOS ANGELES 157-2323

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RM-BPP.

[REDACTED] UCLA CAMPUS POLICE, ADVISED BOARD OF  
REGENTS AND GOVERNOR REAGAN MET THIS DATE AT GOVERNOR'S HALL ON  
UCLA CAMPUS TO CONSIDER APPOINTMENT OF CLEAVER AS LECTURER AT  
UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT BERKELEY. [REDACTED] STATED  
SECURITY PROVIDED BUT NO DEMONSTRATIONS WERE HELD OR INCIDENTS  
REPORTED.

ADMINISTRATIVE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-30-88 BY SP1A/C66um  
#291742

LHM CONCERNING SEPTEMBER NINETEEN LAST DEMONSTRATION WILL  
FOLLOW.

END  
RM FBI WASH DC GA

100-447251-49

REC-48

b6  
b7C  
4 SEP 25 1968

TELETYPED TO:

266 SI 1 50 44 1968

REC'D DOM INTELL DIA

51 OCT-2-1968  
MR. TRAINOR  
ROOM 836 9&D



FBI

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL  
ON 11-25-2005

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Via Airtel

VIA AIR COURIER

(Priority)

To: Director, FBI (157-8415 Sub 243) *enc P1*

From: Legat, Ottawa (157-27)

Subject: BLACK NATIONALIST MOVEMENT - CANADA  
RM

Re Ottawa airtel 9-13-68.

b6

b7C

b7D

Enclosed are the original and two copies of [redacted]  
[redacted] together with the original and two  
copies of the enclosure thereto. This confirms my re airtel.  
[redacted]5 - Bureau (Enc. 6)  
1 cc - Liaison Direct  
1 cc - New York  
1 - OTT  
MLI:jhc  
(6)

C. C. Bishop

1xc airtel, let + enc - 804 910

2cc airtel, let + enc - NY

1xc airtel, let + enc - SF, WX, [redacted]

Aug. R/S

5/27/68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

EXCISE COPIES

Classified by 692EP/aw  
Declassify on: OADR 2-15-90  
BQ-3016JHP100-447251-  
NOT RECORDED

126 OCT 3 1968

12 SEP 23 1968

RACIAL [redacted]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

56 OCT 4 1968

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-8415-243-

1 - Mr. C. D. Brennan  
1 - Mr. W. R. Wannall

9/25/68

b6  
b7C

airtel ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

~~SECRET~~

1 - [redacted]  
1 - [redacted]  
1 - [redacted]  
1 - [redacted]

b6  
b7C  
100-447251-157-41

To: SACs, San Francisco (100-55520) (Enclosure)  
New York [redacted] (Enclosures-2)

Newark [redacted] (Enclosure)  
WFO [redacted] (Stokely Carmichael) (Enclosure)

Director, FBI (100-447251)

236,588  
Classified by SP-1 GSK/RBG  
Declassify on: OADR 3/30/84

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Per release 190-1781-38  
Class. & Ext. By SP-1 GSK/64  
11, 1-2.4.2.4.3  
Declassify on 9-25-98

Enclosed for each field division receiving this communication, except New York, is one copy of Legat, Ottawa, airtel dated 9/13/68, entitled "Black Nationalist Movement - Canada, Racial Matters," concerning the Congress of Black Writers which is to be held at McGill University, Montreal, Canada, from October 11 - 13, 1968. Two copies of this Ottawa airtel are enclosed for New York. X U

IN 100-447251-108763  
100-447251-108763  
100-447251-108763  
100-447251-108763

San Francisco attempt to confirm and develop detailed information concerning the reported travel and attendance at this Congress by Cleaver. Submit the results by letterhead memorandum suitable for dissemination to the [redacted] Newark, New York and WFO should similarly handle this matter for the subjects residing in your respective territories. X U

b7D

1- Legat, Ottawa

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit  
ERS:lmr (28)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO.

1 - [redacted]  
1 - [redacted] (Stokely Carmichael)  
1 - [redacted]  
1 - [redacted]  
1 - 157-8141-Foreign Influence in the Black Nationalist Movement.

b6  
b7C

Tolson  
DeLoach  
Mohr  
Bishop  
Casper  
Callahan  
Conrad  
Felt  
Gale  
Rosen  
Sullivan  
Tavel  
Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Holmes  
Gandy

SEP 25 1968  
COMM-FBI

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

SEP 26 1968

Airtel to SAC, San Francisco  
RE: LEROY ELLERIDGE CLEAVER  
100-447251

For the information of New York, the [redacted]  
mentioned in Legat, Ottawa's, airtel, is believed to be possibly  
identical with [redacted] a Reserve Index subject  
of your Office. This belief is based on his known employment  
[redacted]  
[redacted] U

NOTE:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In addition to the U. S. residents who will reportedly  
attend this Congress, [redacted]  
[redacted]

[redacted] Since such coverage would  
also be of benefit to us, we are handling the matter of coverage  
by separate communication. X U

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by 3347 on 10/24/19  
Exempt from GDS, Category 1  
Date of Declassification Indefinite

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S) OF CLASSIFICATION  
DATE 10/18/17 BY [redacted]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM : SAC, BUFFALO (157-649) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTERS -  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
(OO San Francisco)

DATE: 9/26/68

b6  
b7C

ReBu let, dated 9/5/68, and Buffalo let and LHM,  
dated 8/30/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are the original and 12  
copies of an LHM, dated and captioned as above, identifying the  
individual who made the tape recording of CLEAVER's speech to  
members of the Xerox Earn and Learn Program, at Rochester, N.Y.,  
on 7/26/68. LHM also identifies the responsible official at  
Xerox Corporation who will retain the original tape recording  
of this speech.

[redacted] Xerox Corporation,  
Rochester, N.Y., was contacted 9/11/68, to determine the wil-  
lingness of the Xerox Corporation to permit Xerox officials or  
employees, who heard CLEAVER's speech, to appear as witnesses  
for the U. S. Government. When contacted, [redacted] was accom-  
panied by [redacted] Xerox Attorney, and [redacted] under ad-  
visement of [redacted] indicated a decision in this regard could  
not be given immediately, as it would first require serious  
consideration by the Xerox Corporation and their Legal Depart-  
ment.

[redacted] when contacted 9/19/68, advised that the  
Xerox Corporation would not be willing to permit any of its  
officials or employees to appear as witnesses for the U. S.  
Government in a trial against CLEAVER.

Therefore, Buffalo, is at the present time, attempting  
to contact other individuals over 18 years of age, and not  
Xerox officials or employees, or members of the Xerox Earn and  
Learn Group, who were in attendance at the time CLEAVER made

- 2 - Bureau (Encls. 2) (RM)  
2 - San Francisco (100-55520) (Encls. 2) (RM)  
2 - Buffalo  
HHH;krd

(6) 79 NOV 5 - 1968

REC-76/100-447251-51

EX 106

1 SEP 30 1968



5010-108-02

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

BU 157-649

his speech. These contacts will be made with individuals who were utilized by Xerox as counselors to this group, and who have no official connection with the Xerox Corporation. The names of these individuals were discreetly furnished by [redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Investigation at Buffalo continuing.



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Buffalo, New York 14202  
September 26, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

LEROY ELDREDGE CLEAVER  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RACIAL MATTERS

The characterization of the Black Panther Party (BPP) is contained in the appendix pages of this communication.

On September 11, 1968, [redacted]  
[redacted] Xerox Corporation, Xerox Towers, Rochester, New York, accompanied by [redacted] Attorney for the Xerox Corporation, Rochester, New York, furnished the following information to a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation:

At this time, [redacted] identified the individual who made the tape recording of LEROY ELDREDGE CLEAVER's speech to members of the Xerox Earn and Learn Program, at Rochester, New York, on July 26, 1968, as [redacted] further identified [redacted] as a Xerox employee, [redacted] at the Henrietta, New York Plant of Xerox, a suburb of Rochester, New York, and the site where CLEAVER made his July 26, 1968 address.

[redacted]

At this time, and under advisement of [redacted] stated that he is not in a position to furnish the names of any individuals employed by Xerox, who heard CLEAVER's speech, who would be able to appear as willing witnesses on behalf of

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343 MAY 3 1971

100-447251-51

ENCLOSURE

b6  
b7C

LEROY ELDREDGE CLEAVER  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RACIAL MATTERS

the United States Government against CLEAVER. He indicated that a decision such as this would first require serious consideration by the Xerox Corporation and their Legal Department.

[ ] continued that prior to arriving at such a decision, a great deal of consideration must first be given to the possible effects a prosecution of this type would have on their stockholders, as a result of any publicity which would be forthcoming if Xerox were to be placed in a position of assisting in the prosecution of someone, whom they had invited to appear at the Xerox Corporation as a guest.

[ ] indicated Xerox Corporation feels they have made great advancement in the field of Civil Rights, and in the employing of members of minority groups, and that if they were now to turnabout and assist in an attempted prosecution of a member of a minority group, simply because he made statements which were distasteful, that they would then be playing right into the hands of men like CLEAVER, and would quickly lose any ground gained in the field of Civil Rights.

At this time, [ ] stated that he is aware of the Government's power to subpoena witnesses, and that this fact would also be given serious consideration, prior to their rendering a final decision in this matter.

On September 19, 1968, [ ] advised that the matter of allowing Xerox officials and/or employees to appear as witnesses for the Government in the matter involving CLEAVER, has been given serious consideration by Xerox and their Legal Department.

He stated at this time that Xerox does not feel, based on CLEAVER's speech alone, that the United States Government's case against him is strong enough to warrant prosecution. Therefore, if Xerox were to allow any of its officials or employees to testify on behalf of the Government, the results could be very damaging to Xerox's image in the Civil Rights field and also cause many of the stockholders to question the administrative policies of Xerox.

[ ] concluded by stating that if the United States Government has stronger evidence than CLEAVER's speech alone, and were to make these facts known to Xerox, that Xerox would then feel an obligation to the United States Government, and would be most willing to re-evaluate its decision.



DEROY EDWIN CLEAVES  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RACIAL MATTERS

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI, and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

LEROY ELDREDGE CLEAVER  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RACIAL MATTERS

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY; aka  
Black Panther Party for  
Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY P. NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE [REDACTED] in December, 1966, as a militant black national organization to combat "police brutality" against black youth, and to determine the needs of black communities. The political philosophy is based on the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of China and other black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of [REDACTED] was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland Police Officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: 9/25/68

FROM : SAC, BOSTON (157-637) (ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

RM - BPP

(OO: SAN FRANCISCO)

100-447251-43

Re Buffalo letter to Bureau dated 8/30/68.

The New England Telephone Co., Boston, Mass., listed the following subscribers to the telephone numbers mentioned on pages 3 and 4 of referenced letter:

[redacted]  
(354 is incorrect prefix  
for Worcester)

listed to [redacted]  
[redacted] Worcester, Mass.

[redacted]

listed to [redacted]  
[redacted] St., Roxbury, Mass.

Boston indices are negative concerning the above names. However, it is noted that [redacted] Roxbury is the current residence of [redacted] who is included on the Security and Agitator Indices of the Boston Office.

EX-114

- ② Bureau (RM)
  - 2-San Francisco (100-55520) (RM)
  - 1-Buffalo (INFO) (RM)
  - 2-Boston  
(1-100-37622)
- RMK:cms  
(7)

REC-14 100-447251-52

2 SEP 27 1968

RAID  
SECTION

b6

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6 NOV 6 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan.

62-111663  
UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

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F B I

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Transmit the DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL - REGISTERED  
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)  
RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka  
RM - BPP

Re Pittsburgh airtel to Bureau, entitled, "BLACK PANTHER PARTY; RM," requesting to be advised if CLEAVER plans to travel to Pittsburgh in near future.

Pittsburgh will be advised of any such information available concerning CLEAVER's travels.

3 - Bureau (AM-RM)  
2 - Pittsburgh (AM-RM)  
1 - San Francisco

APC/jr  
(6)

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EX 110

REC-78

100-447251

157-9599-11

12 SEP 30 1968

C. C. Bishop

Approved:

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

NOV 4 - 1968 RCP

b6  
b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

SEP 28 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

FBI SAN FRAN

DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

1228AM DEFERRED 9-28-68 RLO

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

*68 More*

LEROEY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER; RM - BPP.

*Just*  
CALIFORNIA COURT OF APPEALS REVOKED PAROLE OF CLEAVER, MINISTER  
OF INFORMATION BPP AND PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY PRESIDENT CANDIDATE,  
SEPTEMBER TWO SEVEN LAST. CLEAVER HAS BEEN FREE SINCE JULY ONE NINE  
SIX EIGHT WHEN HE WAS ORDERED RELEASED FROM PRISON WHERE HE HAD BEEN  
SENT AFTER PREVIOUS REVOCATION OF PAROLE, FOLLOWING PARTICIPATION IN  
GUN BATTLE WITH OAKLAND POLICE APRIL LAST. SOLANO COUNTY SUPERIOR  
COURT HAD RULED THAT CLEAVER WAS BEING HELD FOR HIS POLITICAL VIEWS  
BUT COURT HAS NOW BEEN ORDERED TO KEEP HANDS OFF CASE. ATTORNEY  
CHARLES GARRY HAS STATED RULING OF APPELLATE COURT WILL BE APPEALED  
AND IF APPEALS ARE NOT SUCCESSFUL CLEAVER WILL RETURN TO JAIL WITHIN  
SIXTY DAYS. HOWEVER, [REDACTED] ADVISED  
THAT AUTHORITY FOR IMMEDIATE ARREST IS BEING SOUGHT. MATTER BEING  
CLOSELY FOLLOWED. LHM WILL FOLLOW.

END

BJP

FBI WASH DC

EX-105

10 SEP 30 1968

53 OCT 19 1968  
MR. TRAINOR  
ROOM 9&D

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C

5-

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

**Memorandum** ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251) DATE: 10/3/68

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

Re San Francisco teletype to Bureau, dated 9/28/68.

Enclosed to the Bureau are 8 copies of LHM, suitable for dissemination.

Background regarding Subject's conviction in 1958 and subsequent release on parole is set out in LHM to provide continuity.

It is to be noted that CLEAVER through his attorney is expected to appeal to the District Court for a rehearing and failing there, to appeal the District Court's September 27th ruling to the California State Supreme Court.

As indicated in reteletype, the Oakland Police Department hoped to obtain authority from the California State Attorney General for an immediate arrest of CLEAVER, however, on 10/2/68, [REDACTED] Oakland Police Department, advised that the California State Attorney General has refused to authorize the arrest, stating that the District Court of Appeals ruling clearly allows 60 days before the revocation of CLEAVER's parole can be executed.

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b7C

2 - Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)  
2 - San Francisco  
FL:mb  
(4)

APPROV: [REDACTED], [REDACTED], [REDACTED], [REDACTED]  
DATE: 10/24/68  
BY: RMH/ [REDACTED]  
10/24/68



67 OCT 30 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

ENCLOSURE

REC-35

12 OCT 7 1968

REC'D INT. SECT.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, publicly identified as Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party (BPP), was convicted in Los Angeles, California, on March 20, 1958, on four counts of assault with intent to commit murder and assault with a deadly weapon as a result of an attempted rape. He was sentenced to serve six months to 14 years as a result of this conviction. On December 12, 1966, he was paroled.

On April 6, 1968, Cleaver and other members of the BPP were involved in a shoot-out with the Oakland, California Police resulting in the death of Bobby Hutton, Treasurer, of the BPP and the wounding of two Oakland Police Officers. Cleaver was charged with assault with intent to commit murder and trial is pending.

The California Adult Probation Authority summarily revoked Cleaver's parole on April 7, 1968, as a result of this incident.

Cleaver, through his attorney, filed a writ in Solano County Superior Court stating that his parole had been revoked illegally.

On July 7, 1968, Judge Raymond J. Sherwin ruled that the California Adult Probation Authority had revoked Cleaver's parole because of his "political activities" and ordered that he be released thereby reinstating his parole.

On September 27, 1968, the California State District Court of Appeals overruled Superior Court Judge Sherwin, stating that the California Adult Probation Authority had not acted illegally. The Court of Appeals ruled that the order to revoke Cleaver's parole become effective in sixty days.

A characterization of the BPP is contained in the appendix.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-447251-54  
ENCLOSURE



BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka  
Black Panther Party for  
Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality," to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

# Memorandum

ALL FBI INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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TO : **Director**  
**Federal Bureau of Investigation**

DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

FROM : **J. Walter Yeagley**  
**Assistant Attorney General**  
**Internal Security Division**

SUBJECT: **Leroy Eldridge Cleaver**  
**Racial Matters - Black Panther Party**

Reference is made to your memorandum of September 9, 1968, enclosing a memorandum dated August 30, 1968, at Buffalo, New York, concerning the subject. You requested a prosecutive opinion in this matter.

We currently have this matter under consideration and when a decision has been reached you will be advised.

37 OCT 3 1968

~~EXP. PROC.~~

EX-109

REC-1

1 OCT 3 1968

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61 OCT 10 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

TO :

DIRECTOR, FBI DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

FROM :

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

SUBJECT:

LEROI ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

ReBuairtel to SF, NY, NK, and WFO, captioned as  
above, dated 9/25/68; and Legat Ottawa airtel to Bureau,  
dated 9/13/68, captioned, "Black Nationalist Movement -  
Canada."

Enclosed for the Bureau are 6 copies of an  
LHM captioned "LEROI ELDRIDGE CLEAVER" and "CONGRESS OF  
BLACK WRITERS, MCGILL UNIVERSITY, MONTREAL, CANADA,  
OCTOBER 11-13, 1968," suitable for dissemination to  
Legat Ottawa.

[redacted]  
advised he would immediately advise this office should  
CLEAVER request permission to travel to the Congress of  
Black Writers.

1cc let 3cc LHM  
to Ottawa by R/S  
RMH/mk

b6  
b7C

EXP. PROC.

② - Bureau (Enc. 6) (RM)  
ACI- San Francisco  
FL/med/11 23 11/11/68  
(4)

REC-14 / 100 - 447251 - 56

OCT. 2 1968

RECEIVED  
FBI  
OCT 2 1968

TO DIRECTOR DIA  
REC.D

254



59 OCT 4 1968 Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

October 2, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL  
MONTREAL, CANADA,  
OCTOBER 11-13, 1968

[redacted] Parole and Community Services,  
Adult Probation Office, Department of Corrections,  
San Francisco, California [redacted]  
advised that Cleaver's conditions of parole require that  
he request and receive authority from the California Parole  
Board to travel outside the immediate San Francisco Bay  
Area. [redacted] has the authority to approve much of this  
travel within the United States; however, any request by  
Cleaver to travel outside the Continental United States  
would be referred to the State Parole Board. Cleaver  
has made no requests to travel to Montreal, Canada, to  
attend the Congress of Black Writers at McGill University,  
nor has he mentioned the fact that he might request  
permission to attend this conference.

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[redacted] advised that to his knowledge, Cleaver  
has not undertaken any unauthorized travel and he does not  
suspect that he would take it upon himself to travel to  
Canada without permission.

b6  
b7C

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343 MAY 3 1971

----- 100-447251-56 -----  
This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions  
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agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside  
your agency.

ENCLOSURE

1 - Mr. R. M. Horner

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

October 21, 1968

Director, FBI

REC

100-447251-56X

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

A memorandum concerning a public speech made by the subject at the University of California at Irvine on September 26, 1968, is enclosed. An attempt is being made to determine if a tape recording of the speech was made. If so, a full transcript of the speech will be furnished to the Department.

It is requested that the subject's statements in this speech be considered in connection with the prosecutive opinion requested in my letter dated September 6, 1968.

Enclosure

100-447251

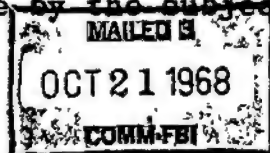
1 - Los Angeles (157-2323)  
1 - San Francisco (100-55520)

RMH:mk1

(6) mkl

✓  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/15/85 BY 91AS C/L/DMS  
24,552

NOTE: Subject is Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, a black extremist group. He has been making a succession of speeches throughout the country, many of which contain obviously revolutionary statements. The Irvine speech includes the quoted comments, "Lay waste to this country. Cripple this country. Get foreign enemies against this country who will come in and destroy it. Then they can pick the gold out of LBJ's teeth." Bulet 9-6-68 requests an opinion concerning possible violations of rebellion, seditious conspiracy, and advocating violent overthrow of Government statutes. Department advised by letter 10-2-68 that matter is under consideration. An opinion has also been requested by Bulet 10-14-68 concerning a highly inflammatory speech made by the subject in Omaha on 8-24-68.



Place \_\_\_\_\_  
Loach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

CT 24 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 10/2/68

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-2323)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM-BPP

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) captioned as above suitable for dissemination. Two copies of the above LHM are enclosed for San Francisco.

Copies being furnished locally to Secret Service and military agencies.

Source referred to in enclosed LHM is [redacted]  
Information was provided orally to SA [redacted]  
on 9/27/68.

Los Angeles Division is attempting to ascertain if a tape recording of the speech was made by another agency and if so a copy will be obtained.

This attached memorandum is being classified confidential inasmuch as data set forth from sources utilized could result in identification of sources of continuing value and compromise effectiveness thereof.

- 3 - Bureau (Encl. 11) RM  
2 - San Francisco (Encl. 2) RM  
1 - Los Angeles

RHR/Rb  
(6)

AGENCY: ACBI, SEC. SERV.,

DEPT: ISD, C.D.

REASON: R/S

DATE: 10/11/68

BY: RMH/ [redacted]

ENCLOSURE

REC-33

EX-101

18 OCT 7 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 3/15/85 BY 9145 a.l.m.s

29,552



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. LA 157-2323

October 2, 1968

Director

United States Secret Service

Department of the Treasury

Washington, D. C. 20220

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☒ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
  - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
  - (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
  - (c) ☒ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available  
☒ may be available through San Francisco Office

Re letter dated October 2, 1968,  
at Los Angeles

Very truly yours,

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s))  
U. S. Secret Service, Los Angeles (RM)

-2-

Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California

October 2, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

A source who has provided reliable information in the past advised as follows:

Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party (BPP) (See Appendix), was the featured speaker on a panel on racism held during the afternoon of September 26, 1968, at Campus Hall, University of California at Irvine (UCI), Irvine, California. The auditorium was filled to capacity including temporary bleacher seats. Approximately 2,000 persons attended.

Cleaver's talk was provocative and interspersed throughout with filthy and obscene language. He used particularly vulgar terms whenever he referred to President Johnson and Governor Reagan. During the course of his talk, he issued a challenge to Governor Reagan to a duel, adding "The governor has left me no choice of weapons". He said that within the next two weeks he will publicly issue this challenge in writing in an edition of "Ramparts" magazine, an avant-garde magazine published in the San Francisco area.

Referring to the report of the Presidential Committee on racial rioting, he said words to the effect:

"the pollsters who got up the statistics and claimed that over half the blacks they interviewed were in favor of racial integration were lying, so I said LBJ baby, you know they were lying and you are a lying pig. When they asked what he could say to that, all he could answer was 'oink'.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3/15/85 BY 9145 cld/mj

24,552

100-447251-56X  
157-959912  
ENCLOSURE

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

"The Black Panther Party can use guns. When we get in action we will not use sticks and stones. I say to the 'brother' get some guns and hide them good. The Black Panthers will have guns, in fact it is our ambition to even have some hydrogen bombs.....There is something wrong if a man can't have a gun and stand up for his woman..... I can tell the police department I can use my gun because those pigs are going to use their guns on me..... They say the Black Panthers are suicidal. We say we can't lose. Lay waste to this country. Cripple this country. Get foreign enemies against this country who will come in and destroy it. Then they can pick the gold out of LBJ's teeth. .... The Black Panthers demand self determination, education, exemption from military service, and all blacks be released from jail. I don't care what the Supreme Court says, what Governor Reagan says or even what my momma says, if they shoot at us we have the right to defend ourselves. This is not racism in reverse, but if a drunken cop shoots at us, or any living thing gets in our way, they gotta go.

"They say we Panthers are a paramilitary group to make mischief for the cops. This is not true. All we are doing is upholding our right to self-defense."

Chief of Police Robert Heavey, Irvine, California, advised that a crowd of about 1,800 attended the panel discussion which featured Cleaver; U. S. Representative James Corman from Van Nuys, California; Robert Scheer, editor of "Ramparts" magazine and Reverend Blaise Bonpane, a priest who has been expelled from Guatemala for allegedly attempting to overthrow the government. Chief of Police Heavey stated that Cleaver was paid \$400.00 plus expenses by the Associated Students Organization on campus. The audience was composed of mostly college students and faculty with a few outside persons in attendance.

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Chief Heavey advised that at the end of discussion a group of hippy types stood and applauded Cleaver. No incident followed the discussion.

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VIA TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL  
1223PM DEFERRED 10-2-68 MS **ENCIPHERED**

TO DIRECTOR, CHICAGO, LOS ANGELES & SAN DIEGO PLAINTEXT 5/8  
(CHICAGO VIA WASH)  
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520) 1P

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RM - BPP

ADVISED THIS

b6  
b7C

DATE SUBJECT HAS REQUESTED AND HAS BEEN GRANTED PERMISSION  
TO TRAVEL AND APPEAR AS FOLLOWS.

UCLA - ELEVEN A.M., OCTOBER FOUR, NEXT.

U OF C, SAN DIEGO - OCTOBER FOUR, NEXT.

RALLY OF BLACK AND BROWN COMMUNITY IN SAN DIEGO - OCTOBER  
FIVE, NEXT.

CHICAGO (PURPOSE NOT KNOWN) - OCTOBER TWENTYFOUR, NEXT.

INTERESTED OFFICES SHOULD PROVIDE COVERAGE, INCLUDING  
PANEL SOURCES, IF AVAILABLE, AND ENDEAVOR TO OBTAIN TAPE  
RECORDINGS OF SPEECHES MADE BY SUBJECT.

END

VXC R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

REC 4

10 OCT 4 1968

EX-166

TELETYPE TO:

NOV 18 1968

MR. TRAINOR  
ROOM 530 980

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: 10/3/68

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-2323)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

*Properly  
re 325*

Re Los Angeles teletype to Director dated 9/19/68,  
and Los Angeles teletype to Director dated 9/20/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of an LHM  
captioned as above suitable for dissemination. One copy  
enclosed for San Francisco.

Captioned LHM is being disseminated locally to  
Secret Service and local military agencies.

*98*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-30-88 BY SP1A G660M

# 291742

REC-24

100-447251-59

EX-109

ENCLOSURE

18 OCT 8 1968

- 3 - Bureau (Encl. 11)  
1 - San Francisco (Encl. 1)  
2 - Los Angeles  
(1 - 100-67852)

RACIAL INT. SECT.

RHR/djy  
(6)

AGENCY: FBI, [redacted], [redacted], [redacted]  
[redacted] [redacted] [redacted] [redacted]  
DATE: 10/11/68  
BY: RMH / [redacted]  
1 cc - 804

56 OCT 15 1968



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Los Angeles, California  
October 3, 1968

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

b6  
b7C

The following information was provided by  
[redacted] Campus Police, University of California  
at Los Angeles (UCLA).

The Board of Regents of the University of California met at McGowan Hall on the UCLA campus on September 19, 1968, to consider the appointment of Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party (BPP) (See Appendix) and Presidential Candidate of the Peace and Freedom Party, as a lecturer at the University of California at Berkley. At approximately 1:00 p.m., on September 19, 1968, about twenty-five demonstrators gathered outside of McGowan Hall in support of Cleaver's appointment. The group grew to approximately 150 persons around the hall by 3:00 p.m., with another 150 demonstrators circulating on the campus. The demonstration was supported by Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) (See Appendix) and consisted of students and faculty members. The demonstration ended at 5:15 p.m., and no incidents occurred.

The Board of Regents met again at UCLA on September 20, 1968, at which time Governor Ronald Reagan was in attendance but no demonstration was held.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

COPIES DESTROYED  
343 MAY 3 1971

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-30-88 BY SP1A361m  
#291742

100-447-51 57

ENCLOSURE

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
Also Known As  
Black Panther Party for Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality", to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service", states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAPP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

APPENDIX



APPENDIXSTUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us". At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes", the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX

F B I

Date: 10/4/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTELAIR MAIL - REGISTERED MAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

b6

FROM: SAC, BUFFALO (157-649) (P)

b7C

LERROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK

(OO: San Francisco) HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

Information has been developed indicating the subject is scheduled to address University of Rochester students on campus, at 1:30 P.M., 10/10/68.

According to an article appearing in the 9/30/68 edition of a local Rochester, New York daily newspaper advertising his scheduled appearance, the subject is described as a New York Peace and Freedom Party's candidate for President.

This article continues that CLEAVER is 33, received his education in the Los Angeles, California public schools and inside California State Prisons at San Quentin and Sledad. He is Minister of Information for the Black Panther Party, a militant black group, and is a Senior Editor for "Ramparts" magazine, a publication of so-called New Left.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

(Protect Per Request), has advised he is aware of CLEAVER's scheduled appearance, but as yet has no details concerning it.

- ③ - Bureau (RM-AM)  
1 - New York (100-161321) (Info) (RM-AM)  
2 - San Francisco (100-55520) (RM-AM)  
2 - Buffalo  
HHH:mfm  
(8)

b6  
b7C

REC-64/100-447251-58  
OCT 10 1968

b6  
b7C

54 OCT 2 1968

58 OCT 11 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

BU 157-649

Rochester, New York Police Department and New York State Police have been advised.

Buffalo will afford appropriate coverage where feasible.

San Francisco advise Buffalo is in possession of information concerning this visit.

FBI WASH DC

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

OCT 4 1968 *ms*

FBI SAN FRAN

TELETYPE

457PM DEFERRED 10/4/68 JOC

TO DIRECTOR, ALBANY, AND BUFFALO

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520) 1P

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

*C* LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER; RM - BPP.

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C

RE BUFFALO TELCALL TO SAN FRANCISCO, OCTOBER TWO.

[REDACTED], ADVISED SUBJECT  
HAS REQUESTED TO TRAVEL AND FILL ENGAGEMENTS AS FOLLOWS:

UNIVERSITY OF BUFFALO, BUFFALO, NEW YORK, OCTOBER NINE.

UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER, ROCHESTER, NEW YORK, OCTOBER TEN  
(TWO OR THREE P.M.).

POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE, ALBANY, NEW YORK, OCTOBER TEN,

ACCORDING TO SUBJECT, HE HAS <sup>BEEN</sup> PROMISED TWO THOUSAND

TWO HUNDRED DOLLARS AT BUFFALO; FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS AT ROCHESTER,  
AND FIVE HUNDRED DOLLARS PLUS TWENTY-FIVE <sup>EX-102</sup> CENT OF GATE AT  
ALBANY. *100-447257-58X*

REC 5 *151-9544-14*

INTERESTED OFFICES SHOULD MAKE ARRANGEMENTS TO TAPE SUBJECT'S  
TALKS IF POSSIBLE AND COVER SAME WITH PANEL SOURCES WHO WOULD BE  
AVAILABLE TO TESTIFY.

END

22 OCT 10 1968

GPRR EIGHTH LINE SHD RD HE HAS BEEN PROMISED

GMI-N-PLA

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU

SLB *YES*

NOV 4-1968

FBI WASH DC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

*P&P*  
61667-1-71968

1 - Mr

b6  
b7C

10-9-68

61 airtel

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

To: SAC, Sacramento

From: Director, FBI (100-447251)

MEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

Reurairtel 10-4-68 concerning subject's speech at  
Sacramento State College 10-2-68.

Forward tape recording of speech promptly followed  
by full transcript of speech.

RMH:sc //  
(4)

NOTE:

Subject, black extremist leader of Black Panther  
Party, spoke before 7,000 people at Sacramento State College.  
Speech highly inflammatory and revolutionary in nature.  
Sacramento advises tape recording being made available by  
Sacramento radio station.

MAILED 4  
OCT 9 - 1968  
COMM-FBI

EX-100

REC 26

100-447251-54  
20 OCT 9 1968

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

143  
54 OCT 14 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

TO : Director, FBI

FROM : SAC, Albany (100-20283) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

Re Albany airtel, 8/6/68.

Refairtel disclosed that movies taken by BCI, NYSP, would be reviewed relative to subject's appearance in Syracuse, N. Y. on 7/27/68. It has been determined through liaison with [redacted] NYSP, Syracuse, N. Y., that a review of these movies does not disclose that additional photographs, suitable for identification purposes, are available.

b6  
b7C

Further inquiries relative to CLEAVER's visit in Syracuse, N. Y., are not being made. It is noted that an LHM was submitted containing pertinent information concerning his appearance as a speaker.

San Francisco and the Bureau will be kept informed concerning the subject's scheduled visit to Troy, N. Y.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 1 - New York (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (100-55520) (RM)
- 2 - Albany

RAB:Ped  
(7)

REC-52

100-441251-60

2 OCT 11 1968

EX-105

b6  
b7C



51 OCT 18 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RACIAL INT. SECT.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : The Director

DATE: 9-30-68

FROM : N. P. Callahan

SUBJECT: The Congressional Record

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

Pages E8341-E8342. Congressman Ashbrook, (R) Ohio, stated Dr. Glenn B. Dumke, chancellor of California's State college system has predicted what many of us have feared for some time: "That this coming school year is going to be a year of even more widespread attempts at turbulence." Mr. Ashbrook also commented on the recent decision to permit Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver to lecture at Berkeley. He went on to state "Two editorials in the September 22 edition of the Chicago Tribune elaborate on both the remarks of Dr. Dumke and the incredible acceptance into the academic community of Eldridge Cleaver. These editorials are set forth in the Record.

Original filed in: 66-1751-3

EX 106

REC-41

100-447257-61

NOT RECORDED

46 OCT 14 1968

In the original of a memorandum captioned and dated as above, the Congressional Record for 9-27-68 was reviewed and pertinent items were marked for the Director's attention. This form has been prepared in order that portions of a copy of the original memorandum may be clipped, mounted, and placed in appropriate Bureau case or subject matter files.

91 OCT 27 1968  
145



FBI WASH DC

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATION SECTION

OCT 9 1968

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____

FBI SAN FRAN

223PM URGENT 10/9/68 JOC

TELETYPE

TO BUREAU (100-447251), ALBANY, BUFFALO, DENVER, AND LOS ANGELES  
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEVER. RM - BPP

RE SF TELETYPE, OCTOBER FOUR, LAST.

b6  
b7C

ADVISED THIS DATE

SUBJECT APPARENTLY CHANGED HIS SCHEDULE AND NOW PLANS ONLY  
FOLLOWING APPEARANCES DURING MONTH OF OCTOBER.

OCTOBER NINE, INSTANT DASH POETRY CENTER, SAN FRANCISCO STATE  
COLLEGE AT ONE PM.

OCTOBER NINE, INSTANT DASH SANTA CLARA, CALIFORNIA, SIX PM.

OCTOBER TEN, NEXT DASH CALIFORNIA CLUB (POETRY CENTER SPONSORED)  
ONE SEVEN FIVE ZERO CLAY, SAN FRANCISCO.

OCTOBER TWO ONE, NEXT DASH UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, AT SANTA  
BARBARA.

OCTOBER TWO FOUR, NEXT DASH COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY.

SUBJECT HAS APPARENTLY DECIDED AGAINST FILLING COMMITMENTS  
SET OUT IN RE TELETYPE.

REC-78

INTERESTED OFFICES SHOULD MAKE ARRANGEMENTS TO TAPE SUBJECT'S  
TALKS IF POSSIBLE AND COVER SAME WITH PANEL SOURCES WHO WOULD BE  
AVAILABLE TO TESTIFY.

END

MXS

FBI WASH DC  
OCT 11 8 1968  
ROOM 836 9&D

100-447251-62  
OCT 14 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

October 14, 1968

Director, FBI

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

There is enclosed a memorandum containing the transcript of a speech made by the subject on August 24, 1968, in Omaha, Nebraska.

The enclosed material should be considered in connection with the prosecutive opinion requested in my letter dated September 6, 1968.

A copy of the enclosed memorandum has been sent to the Criminal Division of the Department in connection with the possible violation of the Antiriot Laws.

The subject's speech in Omaha, Nebraska, was recorded on tape by radio station KBOW, and a copy was furnished to the Omaha Police Department from which our Omaha Office received it. Special Agents [redacted] of our Omaha Office attended the speech and heard the subject's statements.

Enclosure

100-447251

1 - San Francisco (100-55520)

RMH:lle/mkl  
(6)

EX 106

NOTE:

Subject is Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, a black extremist group. Subject gave highly inflammatory speech at Rochester, New York, July 26, 1968, which was furnished to the Department by Bulet September 6, 1968, requesting opinion concerning possible violations of

MAILED 21

OCT 14 1968

COMM-FBI

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

61

OCT 21 1968 TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley

NOTE CONTINUED:

rebellion, seditious conspiracy, and advocating violent overthrow of Government statutes. Department letter October 2, 1968, advised that matter is under consideration in the Department. Speech referred to in enclosure was given at a Peace and Freedom Party convention in Omaha. Subject is presidential candidate of the Peace and Freedom Party. In view of obscene contents of enclosure, it is being forwarded in envelope marked "obscene."

1 - Mr.

b6  
b7C

10-9-68

*9/9*  
airtel

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

To: SAC, Los Angeles (157-2323)

From: Director, FBI <sup>RMH</sup> (100-447251) — *64*

<sup>RMH</sup>  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

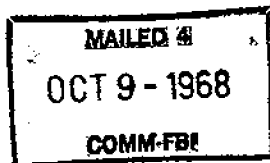
Reurtel 10-4-68 concerning subject's speech at  
UCLA.

Determine if tape recording of speech is available  
and if so furnish copy to Bureau followed by complete transcript.

RMH:sc *ll*  
(4)

NOTE:

Subject is Minister of Information of Black Panther  
Party, black extremist group. Subject spoke at University of  
California at Los Angeles 10-4-68 to 6,000 students. Speech  
was described as "antiestablishment" and with frequent obscenities.  
Subject led crowd in obscene chant concerning Governor Reagan.



Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*56* OCT 10 1968  
MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATION SECTION

OCT 5 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_

FBI WASH DC

FBI LOS ANG.

11:45PM DEFERRED 10/4/68 REF  
TO DIRECTOR

FROM LOS ANGELES (157-2323) 1P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

LERROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RM-BPP.

b6 RE SAN FRAN TEL TO LOS ANGELES, OCTOBER TWO LAST.

b7C [REDACTED] UCLA CAMPUS POLICE, LOS ANGELES, ADVISED

CLEAVER GAVE SPEECH AT PAULEY PAVILLION ON UCLA CAMPUS  
APPROXIMATELY TWELVE THIRTY TO ONE THIRTY PM OCTOBER FOUR  
INSTANT, CROWD ESTIMATED AT SIX THOUSAND, MOSTLY STUDENTS.

CLEAVER'S SPEECH ANTI-ESTABLISHMENT INTERSPURSED WITH OBSCENITIES.  
CLEAVER LEAD CROWD IN OBSCENE CHANT MAKING REFERENCE TO  
GOVERNOR RONALD REAGEN. APPROXIMATELY FOURTEEN BPP MEMBERS  
IN ATTENDANCE AS BODYGUARDS. NO INCIDENTS OCCURRED.

ADMINISTRATIVE

BUREAU IN POSSESSION OF CHARACTERIZATION OF BLACK PANTHER  
PARTY. LHM FOLLOWS. SF ADVISED AM.

END

SVM

FBI WASH DC

REC 82

100-447251-64

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU

OCT 2 3 31 PM 1968

18 OCT 10 1968

REC'D GEN INLET DIA

MR. TRAINOR  
ROOM 836 9&D

Airtel to SAC, LA 10-9-68 RHM:sc

VIA TELETYPE

OCT 9 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

WA....11

FBI NEW YORK

5-50 PM URGENT 10-9-68 WPK

TO DIRECTOR AND SAN FRANCISCO (PLAINTEXT)

SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 157- 2P

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST, ADVISED ON OCTOBER NINE INSTANT, THAT CLEAVER IS SCHEDULED TO SPEAK ON THE STEPS OF IONA COLLEGE, NEW ROCHELLE, NEW YORK, ON OCTOBER ELEVENTH NEXT AT THREE PM.

A SECOND CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE IN A POSITION TO FURNISH RELIABLE INFORMATION, ADVISED ON OCTOBER NINE INSTANT, THAT CLEAVER WAS INVITED TO SPEAK BY IONA COLLEGE WHICH IS PAYING CLEAVER'S FEE OF ONE THOUSAND DOLLARS. REPRESENTATIVES OF THE SHERIFF'S OFFICE, WESTCHESTER COUNTY, NEW YORK, AND DISTRICT ATTORNEY'S OFFICE, WESTCHESTER COUNTY, NEW YORK, PLAN TO TAPE CLEAVER'S SPEECH.

TELETYPED TO:

END. ONE

100-447251-64X  
100-447251-64X  
100-447251-64X

P&P  
NOV 4-1968

PAGE TWO

ADMINISTRATIVE

NEW YORK WILL COVER AND ADVISE THE BUREAU. THE FIRST  
SOURCE MENTIONED ABOVE IS [REDACTED]

(NEW YORK FILE [REDACTED])

THE SECOND SOURCE IS [REDACTED] NEW ROCHELLE,

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED]  
END

WA...R RELAY

CJD

FBI WASH DC

CC MR. TRAINOR  
ROOM 836 9&D



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATION SECTION

OCT 10 1968

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC\*

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	

FBI SAN FRAN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

10:29PM PDST 10-9-68 MXG DEFERRED

TO: DIRECTOR, ALBANY, BUFFALO, NEW YORK AND BOSTON

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON

ay LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RM-BPP

RE SAN FRANCISCO TELETYPES TO DIRECTOR ET AL DATED OCTOBER FOUR  
LAST AND OCTOBER NINE INSTANT.

/ [REDACTED] ADVISED SUBJECT HAS  
RECONSIDERED AND HAS DECIDED TO KEEP COMMITMENTS AT RPI, ALBANY AND  
UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER ON OCTOBER TEN NEXT AND IONA COLLEGE, NEW  
ROCHELLE, ON OCTOBER ELEVEN NEXT AND POSSIBLY NEW YORK CITY UNIVERSITY  
ON OCTOBER ELEVEN NEXT IN THE EVENING. SUBJECT ADDED HARVARD  
COMMITMENT ON OCTOBER FOURTEEN NEXT AT THREE PM. HE PLANS TO RETURN  
TO SAN FRANCISCO ON OCTOBER FIFTEEN NEXT.

INTERESTED OFFICES SHOULD MAKE ARRANGEMENTS TO TAPE SPEECHES  
AND COVER SAME WITH PANEL SOURCES IF POSSIBLE.

END TELETYPE TO:

SVM

FBI WASH DC\*

T

MR. TRAINOR

ROOM 836-920038

NOV 4-1968

REC 36

100-447251-64X1  
157-9599-16  
OCT 14 1968 1320

REC'D SON INLET DIA

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-477629) DATE 02-21-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DG/EHL  
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-161321) (RM)  
SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP  
(OO: San Francisco)

Re Buffalo letter to Director, FBI, 8/30/68.

Photographs furnished in relet taken by the New York State Police and identified on the basis of information received by that agency, were displayed to informants of the NYO intimately familiar with BPP leaders and members. It is noted that a discrepancy exists between identities of subjects of photos as described in relet and as identified by NY sources. The NYO is not aware of information from NY State Police on which identifications were based, but is confident of accuracy of NYO sources.

Copies of photos are being distributed to field divisions involved in order that they may be cognizant of discrepancies.

There follows identifications effected by NYO sources:

	<u>Identity</u>	<u>Photo Locations</u>	<u>Identifying Source</u>
	[REDACTED]	A#3, B#3, C#3, D#3, E#3	[REDACTED]
b2	ELDRIDGE CLEAVER	A#4, B#4, C#4, D#4, E#4	[REDACTED]
b6	[REDACTED]	A#5, B#5, C#5, D#5	[REDACTED]
b7C	[REDACTED]		[REDACTED]
b7D	[REDACTED]		[REDACTED]
	[REDACTED]		[REDACTED]
	[REDACTED]	B#2, C#2, D#2	[REDACTED]

- 2-Bureau (RM)
- 1-Buffalo (Info) (Encls. 5) (RM)
- 1-San Francisco (Info) (Encls. 5) (RM)
- 1-[REDACTED] (43)
- 1-[REDACTED] (43)
- 1-NY 100-161321 (43)

1 OCT 14 1968



5010-108-01

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

NY 100-161321

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

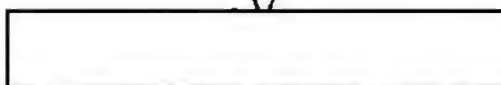
Both [redacted] have furnished  
reliable information in the past. It is noted that both sources  
are well acquainted with [redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

REC- 47

100-447251 66

EX-105



Quartz Hill, California 93534

Dear 

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C

Your letter of October 11th, with enclosure,  
has been received. I want to take this opportunity to  
thank you for your kind comments. The thought prompting  
you to furnish the newspaper article to the FBI is certainly  
appreciated.

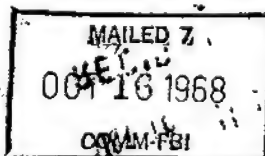
Sincerely yours,  
J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record identifiable with correspondent.

EFT:mk  
(3) *mk*

*Left*

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

[REDACTED]  
QUARTZ HILL, CALIFORNIA 93534

b6  
b7C

October 11th, 1968.

To- ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
Mr. J. Edgar Hoover HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
Director of the DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL  
Washington D.C.

Dear Mr. Hoover

ELDRIDGE C LEAVER

I am enclosing a clipping from the Los Angeles Herald  
Newspaper, for you to study

I think you are the only one who will give this your  
personal attention.

If I should make a statement I'd be classed as discrimination,  
But I am sure thinking, so there for I am mailing this  
clipping on to you as you and one other famous person,  
[REDACTED] I feel as a American Citizen, that You two  
Gentlemen have done more to protect us Americans then any  
other partys in the U.S.A. today.

Thanking You for this special favor, I am most Sencerely

You  
[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

P.S. I am retired now, but having worked on Uncle Sams  
Airplanes for 25 years, and I had to keep my nose clean also  
I had to swear that I never was or ever intended to over  
throw my Government, and when I retired I had a clean record.  
And all my work records are in the F.B.I. Files under my  
[REDACTED]

REC-47 100-447251 66

EX-105

22 OCT 17 1968

CORRESPONDENCE

1- ENCLOSURE

ack: mal

10/16/68

E F G: mk

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

A-20 Los Angeles Herald-Examiner

★

Thursday, Oct. 10, 1968

## Cleaver Reverts To Obscenities

SAN FRANCISCO (UPI)—Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver has hurled invective and obscenities at the "white power structure" in an outdoor talk at San Francisco State College. had been invited to the campus by the poetry center to read selections from his novel "Soul on Ice." But he chuckled the book aside and leveled a volley of shibboleths at his critics.

The talk yesterday contrasted sharply with one Cleaver delivered on the roots of racism in a University of California classroom at Berkeley Tuesday. That lecture, devoid of obscenities, was labeled "scholarly" and "boring" by various students. Students applauded loudly when he asked the crowd to "show me your support for Newton." He referred to Black Panther co-founder Huey Newton who has been sentenced to 2 to 10 years in prison for killing an Oakland policeman.

Before more than 2000 students on the Commons Lawn at San Francisco State, the minister of education of the Black Panther party verbally attacked Gov. Ronald Reagan, Republican U.S. Senate Candidate Max Rafferty, California Assembly Speaker Jesse Unruh, Mayor Joseph L. Alioto of San Francisco, State College Chancellor Glenn Dumke "and the rest of the pigs that make up the power structure." Cleaver, 33, a senior editor of Ramparts magazine, showed the latest edition with a picture of Newton on the cover.

"If Huey isn't freed," shouted Cleaver, "we're going to free him, and we're going to do it with guns."

Cleaver said there were 30 million black people in the United States who would fight. Looking over the crowd, he remarked:

Cleaver led the students in singing choruses of four-letter obscenities mentioning Reagan. "And from all the beards and long hair I see here, I think we'll get a few divisions from the white community to help us." There was intermittent applause during Cleaver's talk. He

Cleaver singled out one man not applauding and shouted: "You, pig, standing there in the business suit and crew cut, why aren't you clapping?" He said this was the kind of person who would go against the wall when the shooting starts.

Before the talk, Cleaver was named an honorary lifetime member of the Associated Students, the legislative body at San Francisco State.

ENCLOSURE

100-447251-66

F R I

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Trans DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)  
FROM: SAC, BOSTON (157-637) (RUC)  
SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP  
OO: San Francisco

Re San Francisco teletype to Bureau dated 10/9/68.

Subject did not appear at Harvard University as scheduled at 4:00 P.M. on 10/14/68. A large crowd had gathered to hear his talk at Memorial Hall, Harvard University, but at about 4:00 P.M. it was announced that CLEAVER was not going to appear and the crowd thereafter dispersed. No information has been received that subject will appear at Harvard at a later date.

[redacted] a former [redacted]  
[redacted] advised 10/15/68 that subject was not going to fulfill his engagement at the University of Rhode Island as scheduled. No information was established as to why CLEAVER is not going to speak at the University of Rhode Island or why he did not speak at Harvard University.

3 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - San Francisco (100-55520) (RM)  
1 - Boston  
KPW:atl  
(6)

REC-33

6 OCT 16 1968

C. C. Bishop

105

1-404

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

b6  
b7Cb6  
b7C

55 OCT 22 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_



2/78, /6

FBI NEW YORK

WA -08-

VIA TELETYPE

OCT 12 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter\_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes\_\_\_\_\_

*wes*  
*28*

8:40 PM URGENT 10-12-68 FALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251) (CODE) HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK (100-161321) 1P

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER; RM - BLACK PANTHER

PARTY (BPP)

ON OCTOBER TWELVE INSTANT, A CONFIDENTIAL  
SOURCE, RELIABLE, ADVISED THAT SUBJECT SPOKE BEFORE  
A RALLY AT MT. MORRIS PARK, ONE TWO FIVE AND MADISON  
STREETS, NYC, THIS DATE. RALLY SPONSORED BY BPP,  
AND LASTED FROM TWO PM TO FIVE THIRTY PM THIS DATE.  
NO INCIDENTS OR ARRESTS REPORTED. AUDIENCE BROKE  
UP IMMEDIATELY AT END OF PROGRAM.

ADMINISTRATIVE

EX-105

CLASSIFY CONFIDENTIAL.

REC-33

100-447251-68

SOURCE IS

[REDACTED] . NY FOLLOWING FURTHER  
ACTIVITIES OF SUBJECT WHILE IN AREA.

END

WA...EFH

FBI WASH DC

15 OCT 17 1968

b6  
b7C  
b7D

b6  
b7C

OCT 15 3 01 PM 1968

RECEIVED DIRECTOR

56 OCT 20 1968 TRAINOR  
ROOM 836 9&D

1 - Mr.

b6

b7C

SAC, Albany (100-20283)

11/5/68

REC-138

Director, FBI (100-4-)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAV  
RM - BPP

DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

Reurlet 10/17/68 and the LHM describing  
subject's speech on 10/10/68 at Troy, New York.

The Bureau is not satisfied that the LHM  
contains all pertinent statements made by the subject.  
The tape recording of the speech is being returned  
herewith. It should be reviewed and a new LHM submitted.

It will not be necessary to set out a complete  
transcript of the speech. Quotations should be set out  
concerning any statements which could be considered as  
inciting rebellion or insurrection, the overthrow of  
the government by forces or violence, advocating  
insubordination, disloyalty, or mutiny in the armed forces,  
or advocating evasion of the Selective Service Act.  
Other portions of the speech need not be directly  
quoted but should be paraphrased.

For your information, the Bureau desires that  
all statements of Cleaver, which might be considered  
violations of the statutes proscribing the activities  
outlined above, be referred to the Department for a  
prosecutive opinion.

Enclosure

1 - San Francisco (100-55520)

RMH:rel  
(5)

NOTE:

The LHM submitted by Albany describes subject's  
statements in general terms. The only statement in LHM  
which suggests possible violation is to the effect that  
Cleaver said he would fight for any country fighting to  
free itself from colonialism, etc. A review of tape at  
Bureau showed other revolutionary-type statements which  
should be directly quoted.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

54 NOV 20 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: 10/17/68

FROM : SAC, ALBANY (100-20283) ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL  
RM - BPP

Re Albany teletype to Bureau 10/11/68, and  
Bureau airtel to Albany 10/14/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eleven (11)  
copies of an LHM referring to LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER's  
speech at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute(RPI) Troy, N.Y.,  
on 10/10/68.

First confidential source is [redacted]  
[redacted] Troy, N.Y., an established source.

The second confidential source is [redacted]  
[redacted] Loudonville, New York.

[redacted] observed CLEAVER's  
speech, and is available to testify.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

A copy of a tape recording of CLEAVER's speech  
furnished to SA [redacted] is  
enclosed for the Bureau. The Bureau will note the recording  
was made on a Bureau Magnacord Recorder at 3 and 3/4 speed.  
At a point about 2/3 in the tape, there will be a break  
in the speech where the original recorder was changing tape.

[redacted] advised that the RPI Inter-Fraternity Council did  
work with the 11 member Black Student Alliance at RPI in

- ENCLOSURE  
10 810  
3-Bureau (Enc.12) (RM)  
3-San Francisco (100-55520) (Enc.4) (RM)  
(1-157-1204)

1-New York (100-Peace and Freedom Party) (RM)  
(Enc.1)

3-Albany (1-100-19705)

JEM:mg  
(10)

REC-47

OCT 18 1968

RACIAL INT. SEC.



5010-108

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

AL 100-20283

conjunction with CLEAVER's appearance but the Black Student Alliance in no way sponsored CLEAVER's speech.

Three copies of this LHM being furnished to San Francisco as they are Office of Origin of the BLACK PANTHER PARTY and LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER.

One copy of this LHM being furnished to New York as they are coordinating Office for the PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY.

Dissemination is being made locally to USA, NDNY, MIG, NIS, OSI, and Secret Service.

Enclosed for San Francisco is the tape recording furnished by RPI of CLEAVER's speech on 10/10/68. This tape was given to Albany and is not to be returned. San Francisco will note that side one and a portion of side two of the tape was used to record the speech.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Albany, New York

October 17, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL LDRIDGE CLEAVER  
AT RENSSELAER POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE  
(RPI) TROY, NEW YORK, ON  
OCTOBER 10, 1968

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on October 11, 1968, that LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER spoke at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute(RPI) Troy, New York, on the evening of October 10, 1968, in the gymnasium. The source stated CLEAVER's appearance on the RPI campus was sponsored by the Inter-Fraternity Council, an association of fraternities at RPI, which paid him \$500; no admission was charged.

CLEAVER's appearance was the result of a letter written by the Inter-Fraternity Council to all Presidential candidates requesting they speak on the RPI campus.

Source stated that about 1500 persons, predominantly students, heard CLEAVER's speech, which was unenthusiastically received, except for approximately 100 people who sat in the front of the gymnasium.

*note*  
The source stated CLEAVER was introduced by ~~PETER DEVINOVICH~~, who described himself as the New York State organizer of the Peace and Freedom Party(PFP) and who described CLEAVER as the Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party(BPP), and the Presidential candidate of the PFP.

DEVINOVICH described the PFP as a recently-organized, completely independent, political party which is controlled by

100-447257-69  
ENCLOSURE

RE: LEROY ELDRIGE CLEAVER

the membership. DEVINOVICH stated the BPP and the PFP are associated but that each works independently. He said the PFP has no illusions that CLEAVER would be elected President of the United States.

A characterization of the BPP is attached hereto.

A second confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that CLEAVER's speech at RPI was filled with obscenities and earthy language. Source stated CLEAVER often compared the United States with the Babylonian Empire, and he was very critical of the U.S. policy in Vietnam. CLEAVER criticized President JOHNSON, Governor RONALD REAGAN of California, and all leading Presidential candidates. CLEAVER stated that a vote for any of the three candidates whom he called "pigs" would be a crime against humanity.

He praised HUEY NEWTON, whom he described as the Minister of Defense of the BPP, who had been found guilty of shooting a policeman in California while defending his rights.

Both sources referred to above advised that CLEAVER stated he was on parole from the State of California and that he had 45 days to report back. CLEAVER stated he had spent nine years in prison and that he would speak wherever he wanted for 44 days and that on the 45th day, he would go into the black community of the Oakland, California, area, where he would be protected and that he would die before going back to Prison.

The second confidential source, above, stated that during the course of the speech, CLEAVER stated he

RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

would fight for any country fighting to free itself from colonialism and the racist capitalistic system.

There were no incidents or arrests.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.



1

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka  
Black Panther Party for  
Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality," to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: 10/10/68

*Chap*  
FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)(P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE  
RM - BPP

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

Remylet, 10/3/68, and Bureau Routing Slip, 10/7/68.

*MS*  
*ST*  
Transmitted herewith is one spool of magnetic tape which is a copy of Subject's speech at Omaha, as requested by referenced Routing Slip. This tape may be retained at SOG and need not be returned to San Francisco.

EXP. PROC.

*Handwritten signature*

ZEROX COPY ENCLOSED

IN BULKY 10/30/68 CWN

- ② - Bureau (Enc.-1)(RM)
  - 1 - San Francisco
- RNB:sf  
(3)

"ENCLOSURE ON BULKY RAMP"

ENCLOSURE

EX 110

REC-47

100-447251-70

25 OCT 17 1968

RACIAL AND SECT.

67 OCT 29 1968

99

## Domestic Intelligence Division

## INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 10/15/68

Attached relates to the speech made by Leroy Eldridge Cleaver of Black Panther Party at Columbia University. Approximately 600 attended same.

Copy of attached sent Inter-Division Information Unit of Department and Attorney General.

JFM:chs

*4en*  
*WCS*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

*4* DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

VIA TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 02-21-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DG/EHL

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. DeLoach ✓  
Mr. Mohr ✓  
Mr. Bishop ✓  
Mr. Casper ✓  
Mr. Callahan ✓  
Mr. Conrad ✓  
Mr. Felt ✓  
Mr. Gale ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Sullivan ✓  
Mr. Tavel ✓  
Mr. Trotter ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Miss Holmes ✓  
Miss Gandy ✓

WA...13

FBI NEW YORK

7-40 PM URGENT 10-15-68 WPK

b6  
b7C

TO DIRECTOR 100-447251 (PLAINTEXT)

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-161321 2P

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER; RACIAL MATTERS-BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, RELIABLE, FURNISHED FOLLOWING  
INFORMATION ON OCTOBER FIFTEEN, NINETEEN SIXTY EIGHT.

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER WAS FEATURED SPEAKER AT WOLLMAN  
AUDITORIUM, FERRIS BOOTH HALL, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,  
NEW YORK CITY AT FOUR PM, OCTOBER FOURTEEN LAST. SPEECH  
WAS SPONSORED BY BOM (DESCRIBED AS REPRESENTING BOARD OF  
MANAGERS OF FERRIS BOOTH HALL). HIS THEME WAS "WE HAVE BEEN  
REPPRESSED AND OPPRESSED FOR FAR TOO LONG. THE TIME FOR  
REVOLUTION IS NOW". HE OBJECTED TO THE IDEA OF THE BLACK  
MAN BEING FORCED TO FIGHT IN THE WHITE IMPERIALIST WARS.

END PAGE ONE

EX 110 REC 15  
OCT 12 8 50 AM 1968

100-447251-71

File

59 OCT 24 1968

REC'D CON SUPT CIA

17 OCT 18 1968

PAGE TWO

HE SAID "IT MAKES NO SENSE TO GIVE A BLACK MAN A GUN AND TELL HIM TO KILL OTHER NON-WHITE MEN. THE BLACK MAN SHOULD BE USING THAT GUN TO DEFEND HIMSELF AND HIS FAMILY RIGHT HERE". IN GENERAL, CLEAVER PREACHED OPEN REBELLION IS A NECESSITY IN TODAY'S WORLD FOR BLACK MEN AND "WHITE RADICALS". HE FELT THAT THE "WHITE RADICAL'S HEART IS IN THE RIGHT PLACE BUT THAT THE RADICAL IS NOT READY TO DO HIS DUTY AND REBEL OPENLY." ABOVE SOURCE ESTIMATED SIX HUNDRED PEOPLE ATTENDED THIS AFFAIR. MEMBERS OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY SERVED AS SECURITY GUARDS.

ADMINISTRATIVE

*REFERENCE NEW YORK Teletype*

RENYTEL TO THE BUREAU AND SAN FRANCISCO,

OCTOBER THIRTEEN, LAST. CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE

REFERRED TO IS



*memo*  
*LHM*

b2  
b7D

FOLLOWS.

END

WA...RNK

FBI WASH DC

CC- MR. TRAINOR  
ROOM 836 9&D

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU

*XEROX ROSEN*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL  
Domestic Intelligence Division

## INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 10-14-68

Attached describes violent statements made 10-13-68 by LeRoy Eldridge Cleaver, Black Panther Party leader, at a Brooklyn, New York, junior high school rally. No incidents or arrests at the rally. Appropriate local dissemination made.

Copies of attached have been furnished Inter-Division Information Unit of the Department and Attorney General. Data being included in teletype summary to RAB:lrb the White House and other interested agencies.

*Wes/AB*  
*ger*

*Q*

VIA TELETYPE

OCT 13 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson ☒  
Mr. DeLoach ☒  
Mr. Mohr ☒  
Mr. Bishop ☒  
Mr. Casper ☒  
Mr. Callahan ☒  
Mr. Conrad ☒  
Mr. Felt ☒  
Mr. Gale ☒  
Mr. Rosen ☒  
Mr. Sullivan ☒  
Mr. Tavel ☒  
Mr. Trotter ☒  
Tele. Room ☒

NY---2

FBI NEW YORK

1030PM URGENT 10-13-68 JJM

TO DIRECTOR AND SAN FRANCISCO

SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON

ATT DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 3P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

*G. C. Moore*

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER  
PARTY (BPP)

BUFILE 100-447251, SAN FRANCISCO FILE 100-55520 AND  
NYFILE 100-161351.

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, RELIABLE, ADVISED OCTOBER THIRTEEN  
NINETEEN SIXTYEIGHT, THAT CLEAVER SPOKE TO ABOUT ONE HUNDRED  
AND FIFTY PERSONS, FIFTY OF WHOM ASSOCIATED WITH **BLACK PANTHER PARTY**  
AT JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL IS.TWO FIVE EIGHT, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK.  
RALLY HELD FROM THREE THIRTY TO FIVE THIRTY PM. SPEECH DEALT  
WITH THREATEN <sup>ED</sup> TEACHERS STRIKE AT OCEAN HILL-BROWNSVILLE SCHOOL  
DISTRICT, BROOKLYN. CLEAVER ADVISED BLACK PEOPLE OVERTHROW  
THE SCHOOL GOVERNMENT OF NEW YORK AND GET RID OF ALBERT  
SHANKER, PRESIDENT OF UNITED FEDERATION OF <sup>1200</sup> TEACHERS. HE STATED

END PAGE ONE

TELETYPE

REC-10

EX-101

17 OCT 18 1968

Included in summary to White House  
Attorney General. Date 10-14-68

OAS: bjr



PAGE TWO

THAT IF TEACHERS STRIKE MONDAY OCTOBER FOURTEEN NINETEEN SIXTYEIGHT, THAT BLACK PEOPLE SHOULD ALSO STRIKE. (NOT FURTHER EXPLAINED). CLEAVER SAID BLACK PEOPLE SHOULD ARM THEMSELVES AND WITH ONLY THIRTYFIVE THOUSAND POLICEMEN IN NEW YORK CITY, IT SHOULD NOT BE DIFFICULT TO TAKE OVER THE CITY IF ALL BLACK PEOPLE ARE ARMED. HE STATED THAT HE HAS TO APPEAR FOR A PAROLE BOARD HEARING IN FORTYTWO DAYS, BUT IS NOT GOING BACK TO CALIFORNIA AND HOPES THAT THE BPP AND THE BLACK COMMUNITY WILL HIDE HIM. WITHOUT FURTHER EXPLAINING CLEAVER SAID THAT TIME IS GETTING CLOSER FOR THE WHITE MAN. A SECOND CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, RELIABLE, STATED THAT AT ABOVE MENTIONED RALLY CLEAVER TOLD TWO HUNDRED PERSONS THAT HE CAME TO SPEAK ABOUT THE SCHOOL SITUATION IN BROOKLYN, NY. HE SAID IF TEACHERS GO ON STRIKE, THE BLACK PEOPLE SHOULD BREAK THE PICKET LINES, TAKE OVER THE SCHOOL AND HAVE MOTHERS, FATHERS AND GRANDPARENTS TEACH. IF BLACK POLICEMAN INTERFERE, THEY SHOULD BE TREATED LIKE THE "WHITE PIG COPS". WHEN QUESTIONED ABOUT HIS ASSOCIATION IN THE

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY, CLEAVER SAID HE IS NOT A MEMBER OF THE  
PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY AND WILL NEVER BE A MEMBER. HE SAID  
HE IS A <sup>BPP</sup> PBB MEMBER AND ALL BLACKS IN THE PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY  
SHOULD LEAVE AND JOIN THE BPP. NO INCIDENTS OR ARRESTS.

*memo*  
~~ENM~~ FOLLOWS.

ADMINISTRATIVE ; FIRST CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE IS

[REDACTED] SECOND SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ADVISED. [REDACTED]

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

*New York*

END

WA EFH R RELAY

CFBI WASH DC

*X-Rosen*

*CC AB+TDI 4*

MR. TRAINOR

ROOM 836 9&D

VIA TELETYPE

OCT 11 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel\_\_\_\_\_

WA ~~18~~ <sup>19</sup>

FBI NEW YORK

11:15 PM ~~10:10~~ PM URGENT 10-11-68 AWS

TO DIRECTOR 100-447251 (CODE)

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-161321

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

RM-BLACK PANTHER PARTY

ON TEN ELEVEN INSTANT, A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, RELIABLE  
ADVISED THAT SUBJECT WAS ONE OF THE SPEAKERS DURING  
EVENING OF TEN ELEVEN SIXTYEIGHT AT LOEB STUDENT  
CENTER, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, NYC, WHERE PEACE AND  
FREEDOM PARTY SUPPORTERS GATHERED. APPROXIMATELY ONE  
THOUSAND INSIDE PACKED AUDITORIUM AND FOUR HUNDRED OR  
MORE OUTSIDE.  
END PAGE ONE

EX-102

REC 15

00-447251-73

18 OCT 18 1968

OCT 15 1 55 PM '68

SEC. 3 CON. INLET DIA

61 OCT 24 1968

PAGE TWO

SOURCE ADVISED SUBJECT CRITICIZED PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND ALL MAJOR PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES CALLING VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY A "MEAT HEAD" AND GEORGE WALLACE A, "PUNK". SUBJECT MENTIONED CURRENT SCHOOL SITUATION IN NYC.

JOHN HATCHETT [REDACTED] WAS ALSO A SPEAKER. [REDACTED] AND OTHERS OF BPP IN ATTENDANCE.

b6  
b7C

SOURCE ADVISED CAMPUS POLICE ON SCENE AND OFFICERS FROM NYCPD NEARBY.

NO INCIDENTS OBSERVED.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

SOURCE MENTIONED HEREIN IS [REDACTED]

b2  
b7D

R. CLASSIFY CONFIDENTIAL. LHM WILL FOLLOW.

END

WA....NSM

FBI WASH DC

cc- MR. TRAINOR  
ROOM 836 9&D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-25-2005 BY 60309 AUC

airtel

1 - Mr.

b6  
b7C

To: SAC, Albany (100-20283)

From: Director, FBI, REC 16100-447251)74

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Reurtel 10/11/68.

Forward copy of taped speech by Cleaver at Rensselaer  
Polytechnic Institute, Troy, New York, on 10/10/68 to the Bureau.

1 - San Francisco (100-55520)

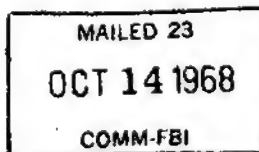
ERS:lmr

(6) *lmr*

NOTE:

Cleaver is Minister of Information for the Black Panther  
Party. Retel indicates subject's speech was taped and was filled  
with obscenities and "earthy" language. He was critical of President  
Johnson and all Presidential candidates and stated he would die  
before going back to prison.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



50 OCT 24 1968  
MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

*ha*

*gh*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

OCT 11 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_

FBI WASH DC

FBI ALBANY

942 PM URGENT 10/11/68 WEB  
TO DIRECTOR 100-447251  
FROM ALBANY 100-20283

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RM-BPP.

SOURCES ADVISED CLEAVER SPOKE OCTOBER TEN, LAST,  
AT RENSSELAER POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE (RPI), TROY, NEW YORK IN  
GYMNASIUM. OVERFLOW CROWD OF ABOUT FIFTEEN HUNDRED PERSONS,  
PREDOMINENTLY STUDENTS, ATTENDED. SPEECH, WHICH WAS FILLED WITH  
OBSCENITIES AND EARTHY LANGUAGE, WAS UNENTHUSIASTICALLY RECEIVED  
EXCEPT FOR ABOUT ONE HUNDRED PERSONS. CLEAVER CRITICIZED U.S.  
VIETNAM POLICY, PRESIDENT JOHNSON, GOVERNOR REAGAN OF CALIF.,  
AND ALL LEADING PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES. HE PRAISED HUEY NEWTON.  
CLEAVER STATED HE HAD FORTYFIVE DAYS TO GO ON HIS PAROLE. SAID  
HE WOULD SPEAK WHENEVER HE WANTED FOR FORTYFOUR DAYS AND THEN  
RETIRE TO BLACK BELT, OAKLAND, CALIF. SAID HE WOULD DIE BEFORE  
GOING BACK TO PRISON. CLEAVER VISIT WAS SPONSORED BY RPI INTRA-  
FRATERNITY COUNCIL IN ASSOCIATION WITH THE ELEVEN MEMBERS OF  
BLACK STUDENT ALLIANCE AT RPI. NO INCIDENTS OR ARRESTS.

SPEECH TAPED. LHM FOLLOWS.

R MAIL COPY TO SAN FRANCISCO. (P)

END

MKA

FBI WASH DC

OCT 11 10 57 AM 1968

REC 16

MR. TRAINOR  
ROOM 836 9&D

17 OCT 18 1968

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

10-17-68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Airtel

DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

001-X3

To: SAC, Charlotte **REC 27**  
From: Director, FBI (100-447251) **73**  
Subject: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Reurairtel 10-11-68 concerning subject's  
scheduled speech at University of North Carolina,  
10-19-68.

For your information, Cleaver has been speaking  
frequently on college campuses. His speeches are typically  
filled with obscenities and he has frequently made  
statements which could be considered revolutionary.  
The Bureau desires to bring any possible revolutionary  
statements to the attention of the Department. Cleaver's  
speech should be adequately covered. Tape recording of  
speech is desirable in the event any source or local police  
plan to make such a recording. In this event, copy of the  
recording and a transcript of the speech should be forwarded  
to the Bureau.

Eric Lincoln is apparently identical with  
C. Eric Lincoln, author of "The Black Muslims" and  
"My Face is Black." Between 1952 and 1957, Lincoln was  
a Potential Security Informant of the Chicago Office in  
connection with Communist Party and Labor Youth League  
matters and of the Atlanta Office concerning Nation of Islam  
matters. In August, 1957, Lincoln disclosed his previous  
relationship with the Bureau to a newspaper. He has not  
been contacted since. On 2-15-67, Stokely Carmichael was  
a guest of Lincoln, then a professor at Portland State  
College, Portland, Oregon.

1 - San Francisco (100-55520)

RMH:lrh (5)

**NOTE:** Charlotte requested background data on Lincoln,  
who is to speak at University of North Carolina 10-20-68.  
Local authorities are being advised of Cleaver's appearance.

MAILED 10  
OCT 17 1968  
COMM-FBI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐



F B I

Date: 10/11/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 TO: DIRECTOR, FBI HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL  
 SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
 RACIAL MATTERS (BPP)

The 10/10/68 issue of the Winston-Salem, North Carolina newspaper, "Journal," contained an article which indicates that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, described as California Peace and Freedom Party candidate for President and minister of information for the Black Panthers, is to speak on 10/19/68, at 8:00 P.M. at Hill Hall at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. It is noted that also on 10/20/68, at 8:00 P.M., ERIC LINCOLN, described as author of a biography on the Black Separatist Movement, is scheduled to speak at the Wesley Foundation, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

The Bureau is requested to advise Charlotte of background data concerning ERIC LINCOLN, including his group affiliation.

- ③ - Bureau (RM)  
 2 - San Francisco (RM)  
 5 - Charlotte  
     (2 - 157-NEW)  
     (1 - 157-5490)  
     (1 - 157-6171)  
     (1 - 157-177 SUB B)

THG:dmb  
 (10)

REC 22

100-447251-7  
6 OCT 1968b6  
b7C

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
 Special Agent in Charge

*Airtel Charlotte  
 1-5F  
 RMH: dmb  
 10-17-68*

*M/g*  
*1-504*

*100-447251-7*  
*6 OCT 1968*  
*REC. SECT.*

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

CE 157-NEW

LEADS:SAN FRANCISCO

San Francisco is requested to furnish Charlotte with all available information as to subject's itinerary and traveling companions, it being noted Charlotte is in possession of descriptive data and photographs of subject and his wife.

CHARLOTTEAT CHAPEL HILL, NORTH CAROLINA

1. Will notify local authorities of subject's activities, background, and propensity for violence.
2. Will notify Secret Service and military intelligence and submit letterhead memorandum prior to 10/19/68.

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

airtel

DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC

10/11/68

b6

b7C

To: SAC, New York (100-161321)

REC-23 From: Director, FBI (100-447251) - 76

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Reurtel 10/11/68.

Secure a copy of the taped speech by Cleaver at Iona College, New Rochelle, New York, and forward to the Bureau.

1 - San Francisco (100-55520)

ERS:lmr

(6) *lmr*

NOTE:

Cleaver is Minister of Information for the Black Panther Party (BPP). His talk at Iona College on 10/11/68 was taped by representatives of other agencies. Cleaver's talk was inflammatory, critical of President Johnson and clergy and he urged formation of a BPP chapter on the school campus.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAILED 23

OCT 14 1968

COMM-FBI

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

## INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 10/11/68

Attached relates to speech delivered by Eldridge Cleaver of the Black Panther Party (BPP) 10/11/68, at Iona College, New Rochelle, New York. Although he was heckled by members of the Society of Christian Brothers who staff that college, he rambled on deriding the Presidential candidates, President Johnson, and urged women present to use their sexual power in order to sway the men of this country to support the BPP, among other things.

Copy of attached sent Inter-Division Information Unit of Department, and Attorney General. Also to be furnished Internal Security Division of Department, Secret Service, and military.

JFM:chs

*WGS/m**WGS/m*

VIA TELETYPE

OCT 11 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tele. Room\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy\_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

WA -----

FBI NEW YORK

8:05 PM URGENT 10-11-68 AWS

TO DIRECTOR, AND SAN FRANCISCO (PLAIN)

SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 157-

b6

b7C

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RM-BPP.

*RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY*

b6

b7C

RE NY TEL TEN NINE SIXTYEIGHT.

SOURCE ADVISED ON TEN ELEVEN SIXTYEIGHT, THAT  
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER APPEARED ON CAMPUS OF IONA COLLEGE  
NEW ROCHELLE, NEW YORK ON TEN ELEVEN, SIXTYEIGHT, AT  
INVITATION OF CAMPUS NEGRO ORGANIZATION.

CLEAVER WAS SCHEDULED TO APPEAR AT FOUR PM BUT  
DID NOT ARRIVE UNTIL FIVE TWENTY PM. CROWD OF ABOUT FOUR  
HUNDRED WAS PRESENT AT START OF TALK. GROUP OF ABOUT ONE

b6

b7C

END PAGE ONE

REC-23

100-447251-76

TELETYPED TO:

2 OCT 18 1968

SF

Antel, NY 10-11-68  
10/14/68

PAGE TWO

HUNDRED MILLED AROUND CLEAVER AND INDICATED STRONG SUPPORT FOR HIM. THIS GROUP, MOSTLY TEENAGERS, MANY DRESSED IN "HIPPIE" ATTIRE, MIXED MALE AND FEMALE, PREDOMINANTLY WHITE. NUMBER OF NEGROES IN AUDIENCE WAS RELATIVELY SMALL.

IONA COLLEGE IS STAFFED BY SOCIETY OF CHRISTIAN BROTHERS. ONE OF BROTHERS HECKLED CLEAVER AT START OF HIS TALK AND WAS JOINED BY ABOUT FIFTY COLLEGE STUDENTS WHO HECKLED AND SHOUTED AT CLEAVER FOR TEN MINUTES. CLEAVER CONTINUED THE TALK AND OPPOSITION DWINDLED.

IN RAMBLING, DISJOINTED TALK, CLEAVER STATED THAT BPP WAS FOR THE GOOD OF BLACK PEOPLE AND OPPOSED THE ESTABLISHMENT FOR THE RESTRICTION IT HAD PLACED. HE SAID BPP WELCOMED SUPPORT OF WHITE PEOPLE AND THAT BPP WAS NOT A TERRORIST ORGANIZATION.

CLEAVER STATED HE BELIEVED IN WHITE POWER FOR WHITE PEOPLE, RED POWER FOR RED PEOPLE, BLACK POWER FOR BLACK PEOPLE AND YELLOW POWER FOR HO CHI MINH AND MAO TSE TUNG. CLEAVER SPOKE IN A DERIDING MANNER CONCERNING CANDIDATES FOR PRESIDENCY, AND SAID LYNDON B. JOHNSON HAD LIED TO THE PEOPLE AND DID NOT HAVE THE COURAGE TO RUN AGAIN FOR OFFICE.

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

CLEAVER URGED WOMEN OF THE UNITED STATES AND PARTICULARLY THOSE PRESENT TO USE THEIR SEXUAL POWER TO SWAY THE MEN OF THIS COUNTRY TO SUPPORT THE PROGRAM OF THE BPP WHICH WAS FOR THE GOOD OF ALL PEOPLE.

HE WAS CRITICAL OF CLERGY WHO OPPOSED EXTENDING FULL RIGHTS TO ALL PEOPLE AND STATED, "THEY SHOULD TEAR OFF THEIR FROCKS AND JOIN THE NYCPD."

CLEAVER STATED HE HAD BEEN A BLACK MUSLIM BUT HAD LEFT THE GROUP AFTER THE DEATH OF MALCOLM X WHO HAD DONE GREAT THINGS TO PUT NEGRO HISTORY AND ACCOMPLISHMENT IN PROPER PERSPECTIVE.

CLEAVER URGED FORMATION OF BPP CHAPTER ON IONA CAMPUS AND URGED FORMATION OF CHAPTER OF WHITE FRIENDS OF BPP. CLEAVER ENDED TALK AT SIX TEN PM. CROWD HAD DWINDLED DURING HIS TALK TO ABOUT TWO HUNDRED. ADMINISTRATIVE:

SOURCE WHO OBSERVED CLEAVER WAS SA [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] NYO.

b6  
b7C

OTHER OBSERVERS PRESENT INDICATED CLEAVER HAD USED NOTICEABLY LESS OBSCENITY THAN IN HIS USUAL TALK.

CLEAVER'S TALK WAS TAPED BY REPRESENTATIVES OF OTHER AGENCIES.

*mem*  
LHM FOLLOWS.

END

WA...NSM R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU

MR. TRAINOR

ROOM 835 9&D

*Xerox Rose*



1 - Mr.

b6  
b7C

SAC, San Francisco (100-53520)

10/21/68

Director, FBI (100-4472) ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

LEREOY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

ReNYtel 10/13/68 concerning the subject's speech at Junior High School 258, Brooklyn, on 10/13/68. The subject is said to have stated that he is scheduled to appear for a parole board hearing in 42 days, but is not going back to California and hopes that the BPP and the black community will hide him.

New York should insure that all details concerning these remarks are obtained from those sources who heard them, because they show that the subject is at least considering leaving California where it appears he has an excellent chance of being returned to prison as a parole violator and where he still must stand trial on several serious assault charges.

New York and San Francisco informants should be alerted to obtain any information which might indicate that the subject plans to leave California to avoid further confinement. It is not improbable that the subject would prefer leaving the United States rather than face another long prison term.

2 - New York (100-161331)

NOTE:

EX 110

REC-1

100-4472-77  
19 OCT 21 1968

Cleaver is the Minister of Information of the BPP and has been its principal spokesman. He served 8 years in prison and was released in 1966 on parole. His parole was revoked in 4/68, but he has been able to avoid returning to prison by legal maneuvers. The California State Court of Appeals has ordered his parole revoked and this is effective 11/27/68. In addition, he and 7 other BPP members are scheduled to stand trial in 12/68 on assault charges arising out of a gun battle with Oakland police in 4/68. There has been no previous indication that Cleaver was considering fleeing to avoid confinement.

RMH:1km  
(6)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

MAILED 22  
OCT 21 1968  
COMM-FBI

*Handwritten initials and signature*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 10/16/68

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-2323) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

Re Los Angeles teletype to Director dated 10/4/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of a Letterhead Memorandum (LHM) captioned as above. One copy is enclosed for San Francisco. The enclosed LHM is being disseminated locally to Secret Service and military agencies.

b2 First source referred to in attached LHM is  
b6 [redacted] University of California  
b7C at Los Angeles (UCLA). Second source referred to is [redacted]  
b7D [redacted]

[redacted] attended the speech by CLEAVER and obtained tape recordings of his speech. Tapes will be forwarded to the Bureau.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 4-1-81 BY SP-5 BTJ/lw  
87, 418

XEROX  
OCT 29 1968

REC-48

100-447251-78

ENCLOSURE

2 OCT 21 1968

- ③ - Bureau (Enc. 11) (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles

RHR/jem  
(5)

AGENCY: ACSI, SEC. SERV.

DATE: 10/28/68

BY: RHR/jem

2-804 (cover let + encl.)

INT. SECT.

59 NOV 8 - 1968



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

LA 157-2323

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

October 16, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Director  
United States Secret Service  
Department of the Treasury  
Washington, D. C. 20220

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Dear Sir:

The information furnished DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☐ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
  - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
  - (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
  - (c) ☒ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available  
☐ may be available through \_\_\_\_\_

Re report SA [redacted] dated  
October 16, 1968, at Los Angeles.

Very truly yours,

b6

b7C

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s))  
U. S. Secret Service

Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form  
becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California

October 16, 1968

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

A source who has provided reliable information in the past advised as follows:

Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party (BPP) (See Appendix) and presidential candidate of the Peace and Freedom Party (PFP), a legally constituted political party in the State of California, spoke at the Pauley Pavilion on the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) campus on October 4, 1968. Cleaver was invited to speak as part of a lecture program in which all presidential candidates were offered an opportunity to speak. Cleaver is the only candidate who has accepted to date. The conditions under which Cleaver was allowed to speak were that all arrangements were to be handled by the PFP and that no advance publicity be given Cleaver's speech. In addition, Cleaver does not speak as a representative of the BPP nor does he receive any honorarium. No distribution of literature was allowed on the campus.

A second source who has provided reliable information in the past advised that Cleaver spoke at Pauley Pavilion at UCLA from 12:30 p.m. to 1:30 p.m. Source stated that Cleaver spoke to a crowd of about 6,000 persons, most of whom were students. Source advised that Cleaver's speech was basically anti-establishment, interspersed throughout with obscenities. Cleaver led an obscene chant making reference to Governor Ronald Reagan. Source advised that he observed 14 Negroes dressed

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DATE 4-1-81 BY SP5 BIL/lw

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ENCLOSURE

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

in black leather jackets, fingertip length, and black berets who appeared to act as bodyguards for Cleaver. Source advised that he observed no firearms on these persons but that the jackets were very bulky and no bulging objects could be noticed. Source advised that no incidents occurred.

An article reporting the speech appeared in the Daily Bruin, a campus newspaper at UCLA, dated October 7, 1968. The article was written by Daily Bruin City Editor, John Parker, entitled, "Cleaver: Peace, Panthers and pigs", and contained the following quotations attributed to Cleaver:

"We have got to get into a frame of mind where we realize that Karl Marx had a whole lot to say about how the society should be run."

"We have got to be able to say we love you MAO Tse-tung; we love you HO Chi-minh; we love you Fidel Castro."

The article stated that Cleaver called all three presidential candidates "pigs" and that the Democratic and Republican Parties should be dumped in the garbage can where they belong.

The article continued quoting Cleaver:

"I say oink to all of them (the presidential candidates). There's a storm brewing, and the people are going to say (to the establishment): Up against the wall mother (obscene). You done wrong."

The article stated that between 7,500 and 8,000 students were present during the speech and that Cleaver received a standing ovation when he concluded.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
Also Known As  
Black Panther Party for Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality", to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service", states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAPP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

APPENDIX



10/21/68

airtel

1 - Mr

b6

b7C

To: SACs, Albany  
Chicago  
Denver  
Los Angeles  
New York  
San Diego  
San Francisco

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DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

From: Director, FBI (100-447251)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

In order that any violations contained in subject's recent speeches on college campuses can be referred to the Department for prosecutive opinions as soon as possible, expedite submission of letterhead memoranda and, if available, transcripts and tapes.

REC-48

100 447251 79

Albany handle Rensselaer Polytechnic speech 10/11;  
Los Angeles handle UCLA speech 10/4 and speech scheduled at  
University of California at Santa Barbara 10/21; New York  
handle speeches Iona College and New York University 10/11,  
Junior High School 258 10/13, Columbia University 10/14; San Diego  
handle UCSD speech 10/5; San Francisco handle Stanford speech  
10/1 and Santa Clara speech 10/9.

San Francisco teletype 10/2/68 noted subject has permission to travel to Chicago 10/24, purpose unknown. San Francisco teletype 10/9/68 noted subject plans appearance Colorado State University 10/24/68. Chicago and Denver sutel results any speeches made by subject and follow promptly with letterhead memoranda and, if available, transcripts and tapes.

RMH:lmr

(16)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO.

OCT 29 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

MAILED 7  
OCT 22 1968  
COMM-FBI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Loach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

51

Scn

gtt



Airtel to SAC, Albany, et al  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
100-447251

NOTE:

Subject is Minister of Information of Black Panther Party. He has given 14 speeches at various college campuses since 8/16/68. Speeches frequently contain revolutionary statements. Teletypes have been submitted by offices concerned but only two letterhead memoranda received. Department was asked for prosecutive opinion by Bulet 9/6/68 concerning Xerox Corporation speech 7/26/68 and was subsequently furnished transcript of Peace and Freedom Party speech at Omaha 8/24/68 and LHM concerning speech at University of California at Irvine 9/26/68 and was requested to consider these in connection with opinion requested 9/6/68. WFO has instructions for expedite submission of transcripts of speeches made at American University and Howard University 10/18/68 and therefore was not sent copies of this airtel.

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DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

100-447251 -

Honorable Ward L. Quaal  
The Font  
WGB Continental Broadcasting Company  
2511 Bradley Place  
Chicago, Illinois 60618

Dear Mr. Quaal:

The copy of the broadcast, "Cleaver Tells  
It Like He Is," enclosed with your note was received on  
October 3rd. It was typically thoughtful of you to furnish  
this and I wanted you to know of my appreciation.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Mr. Quaal and George Putnam, the author of the attached, are  
both on the Special Correspondents' List. Cleaver, who is well known to  
the Bureau, is on the Security and Agitator Index of the San Francisco  
Office. The broadcast concerns Cleaver's rantings before the Barristers'  
Club in San Francisco.

ENCLOSURE (3)

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

53 OCT 28 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ORIGINAL FILED IN 74 57901-17

DO-6

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

MR. TOLSON \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. DELOACH \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. MOHR \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. BISHOP \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. CASPER \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. CALLAHAN \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. CONRAD \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. FELT \_\_\_\_\_

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MR. TROTTER \_\_\_\_\_  
MR. JONES \_\_\_\_\_  
TELE. ROOM \_\_\_\_\_  
MISS HOLMES \_\_\_\_\_  
MRS. METCALF \_\_\_\_\_  
MISS GANDY \_\_\_\_\_

FROM THE DESK OF  
Ward L. Quaal

The Honorable J. Edgar Hoover

F.Y.I. -- As delivered over  
KTLA Television, Los Angeles.

ORIGINAL  
COPY PLACED

ENCLOSURE

The Honorable J. Edgar  
Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Department of Justice  
Washington 25, D. C.

RECEIVED

OCT 21 1968

Ward

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26 OCT 24 1968

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CLEAVER TEL DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

By George Putnam  
September 11, 1968

There is a serious and great question in this reporter's mind whether a newsman should ignore such militant organizations as the Black Panthers--give them no publicity whatsoever--or whether it is the newsman's responsibility to bring to public attention what this paramilitary organization of military racists has in store for the United States of America. It is this reporter's opinion the latter course must--in all good conscience and responsibility--be followed.

NEWSEK MAGAZINE, in its September sixteenth issue, offers a word from the Peace and Freedom candidate, ex-convict Eldridge Cleaver, who is the Presidential nominee of the Peace and Freedom Party--and the Black Panthers' Minister of Information.

Last week, Eldridge Cleaver stood before a group of 175 attorneys, all under the age of thirty-six, in a San Francisco dining room--and he told it like he is. Standing there, dressed in black and wearing a tiny pearl earring in his left ear, he told the barristers' club they could best help the black movement by donating machine guns.

It is this reporter's opinion that it is important that all of us listen and understand what this ex-con has to say. "America is up against the wall," says Cleaver. "This whole apparatus--this capitalistic system and its institutions and police--all need to be assigned to the garbage can of history, and I don't give a--blank--who doesn't like it. If we can't have it, nobody's going to have it," says Cleaver. "We'd rather provoke a situation that will disrupt cities and the economy so the enemies of America could come in and pick the gold from the teeth of these Babylonian pigs." This an obvious reference to police officers to whom he always, as the Panthers do, refer as pigs.

At that point, Cleaver shouts at his audience--"Up against the wall, you mother--blanks--! I could go into the White

100-447251-

ENCLOSURE

*Handwritten signature*

House and come out--blank--rich. But I'm too young, so I have to say--blank--the White House--blank--the electroal system--blank--all the pigs--and--blank--the power structure." Now naturally, he didn't say "blank"--he used another verb.

And Cleaver continues his tirade. "You're all chasing dollars, but there are other people who are chasing dollars to buy guns to kill judges and police and corporation lawyers. We need lawyers who have a law book in one hand and a gun in the other, so if he goes to court and that--blank--doesn't come out right, he can pull out his gun and start shooting."

And then Cleaver continued, "If I could get two machine guns out of this crowd, I wouldn't care if you applauded me or threw glasses at me, and then I'd get my black--blank--out of here."

And then, lest anyone mistake his full meaning, Cleaver concluded with these remarks, "I meant all my insults to those who won't choose my side--the right side. You people can take your wallets, credit cards, and cut your mother--blank--neck. You people on the other side, I love you. I hope you'll take your guns and shoot judges and police."

Then Cleaver--ex-convict, Black Panther Minister of Information, and Presidential nominee of the Peace and Freedom Party, gets a polite ovation, if you please, from the 175 lawyers--all under age thirty-six. One of the lawyers asks--"What can we whites do to help the black man's cause?"

Cleaver responds--"Kill some white people."

At that point, the meeting ends, and as the crowd moves toward the elevators, one young lawyer--pink cheeked--turns to a companion and remarks, "Say, his speech certainly reflects the growing polarization between the races, doesn't it?"

This same Eldridge Cleaver, the Peace and Freedom Party candidate, states in his most recent directive, "The Black Panther Party is organizing and arming black people across this country."

At another point he states, "We are very concerned with the development of a strong, radical movement in the white community." And again he states, "We have formed a working coalition with the Peace and Freedom Party in California and a number of other states."

Eldridge Cleaver and the Black Panther Party are busy on many fronts. This revolutionary group has the support of the Free Huey movement--the Afro-American Student Union--the Black Student Union--Honkies for Huey--The Young Socialist Alliance--the Socialist Workers' Party--the Independent Socialist Club--the Students for a Democratic Society--the Progressive Labor Party--and numerous anti-draft and anti-war groups.

But perhaps the most productive affiliation for the Black Panthers have been their merger with SNCC--their coalition with the Peace and Freedom Party--and the recent declaration of the Communist Party of the United States that it supports Huey Newton.

As I said at the outset, the people have a right to know what the Black Panther Party has in store for them. But what a strange spectacle it is to witness 175 American attorneys--officers of the court--crowded into a San Francisco dining room to hear an ex-convict as he rants and rages and insults them--tells them how he plans to destroy them and every other white man--and then give this revolutionary a very polite ovation!

And when one of them asks what whites can do to help the black man's cause, this man of "peace and freedom" responds, "Kill some white people." And those 175 attorneys--officers of the court--give this revolutionary a very polite ovation--after hearing this plan for their own execution!

Five and ten p.m. news reports, KTLA, Channel Five

FBI

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Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

(Priority)

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b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251) (105-165706)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

RM - BPP

SF 100-55520

ELdridge Cleaver

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

SMITH ACT, 1940; Rm.

SF 157-1204

Enclosed for the Bureau are ten copies of an  
LHM suitable for dissemination.

Due to the fact that the subject matter of the  
LHM contains obscenities, it has been marked obscene and  
is transmitted in a sealed envelope.

Enclosed LHM mentions two letters. The contents  
of the first is included in the enclosed LHM and contents  
of the second was transmitted by airtel and LHM dated  
10/14/68 under caption of "Youth International Party". (Bufile  
100-448910) (SF file 100-60652).

The Bureau may wish to call contents of enclosed  
LHM to attention of the Attorney General as a possible  
violation of Section 2385 of Title 18.

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

ENCLOSURE

4 - Bureau (Encl. 10) (RM)

2 - San Francisco AGENCY: ACSI, SEC. SERV.

FL:sag

(6)

HOW FORW:

DATE FORW

BY: SAC

OCT 17 1968

Approved:

Sent

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Special Agent in Charge

79 OCT 29 1968

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 105-165706



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100-447251-80

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OBSCENE

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without supervisor's permission.

OBSCENE

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DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

OBSCENE



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

October 14, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

Copies of this memorandum are being provided locally to Intelligence Agencies of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and to Secret Service.

The Saturday, October 5, 1968, "Extra" edition of the "Black Panther Party" newspaper, the official publication of the Black Panther Party, contains two open letters printed on page two under the following captions:

"Open Salvos From a Black/White Gun"

"Following are two statements on the same subject by madmen grappling with the cause of their madness in search of a cure. We have delivered out of the political arena into the wilderness of our own drawn minds. We will not dissent from the American government. We will overthrow it."

One of the letters indicates the writer as Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party. The letter reads as follows:

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

1968 — the year of the pig. The death of the ballot, the birth of the bullet — here is the choice — contemptuously thrust in our face by this decadent racist power structure: racist pig Humphrey, racist pig Nixon, racist pig Wallace for President! So where do we go from here?

Into the streets! Into the alleys! Back of town! Onto the rooftops! Behind whatever shelter remains for a black person here in Babylon! This is the nightmare election year of the American dream. The Republican Party and the Democratic Party have told black people to kiss the ass of the elephant and the donkey. They have done this in no uncertain terms. It is time for black people to tell the elephant and the jackass to go fuck each other — political and moral cretins that they are. Yet we cannot sit idly by and allow these vipers to run their game on us without even raising a dead finger in opposition. It is very clear that there is no way left for us to offer any opposition through the traditional political machinery. These merciless demagogues have so firmly grasped this machinery in their clutches that even the white supporters of McCarthy and Kennedy got all the fat whipped off their heads in Chicago when they tried to oppose the mad dog power play of meathead Humphrey. Our only recourse is to join in a second Boston Tea Party in order to blow their game. In order to blow their minds, we must chart our own course, a new course designed to manifest how we feel about the inaffordable political manipulation and chicanery that has made the national election into a circus devoid even of the saving grace of humor. This shit is not funny. These pigs are plotting our death. These vicious reprobate, conniving scoundrels are plotting genocide against us. What do you think this featherweight, featherbrain Alabama racist, George Wallace, has up his sleeve for niggers? Extermination. The final solution to the Negro problem.

We don't have to go for that. That's not our issue. That is not the goal towards which black people have been struggling, dying, for these painful four hundred years. Our fight is for freedom, for liberation, by any means necessary, as Brother Malcolm also said that it's gotta be the ballot or the bullet. The pigs of the power structure have taken off their masks and revealed themselves to be precisely what we have always known them to be. Murders, liars, miserable genocidal wretches. These pigs themselves have already closed down the polling places, the ballot boxes, in so far as any meaningful solution to the black man's problems is concerned. Right on!

Are we to lie down and grovel on our bellies, on our knees, like a begging Lazarus, hoping that these fiends will toss us a few crumbs when they introduce another bullshit four-year program into the pigpen of the United States Congress? Fuck these motherfuckers! Let's go for ourselves. Let's go for what we know. And what do we know? We know, in the words of Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, that the spirit of the people is greater than the pigs' technology. They seek to deprive us of life, of our human rights, of a future, through their rigged technological-political crap game. Only snake eyes are on the loaded dice for us within the confines of the American political system. So there's nothing left for us to do but to break up this crap game, to pick our money up off the wood and demand a brand new pair of dice from the house. Let the pigs dance a jig to the star spangled banner. Let us do the dog in the streets. Let the pigs of the power structure put each other through these assinine changes and let us put all the pigs through a final change. Let us join together with all those souls in Babylon who are straining for the birth of a new day. A revolutionary generation is on the scene. There are men and women, human beings, in Babylon today. Disenchanted, alienated white youth, the hippies, the yippies, and all the unnamed dropouts from the white man's burden are our allies in this human cause. The entire anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist world of mankind is with us. Let us manifest our solidarity with them. Let us say loud and clear that we are not going to accept four more years of Slavery, Suffering and Death under the hooves of racist pigs. Until this house is set in order, let us plant our tent on the fighting words of Brother Robert Williams: "America is a house on fire. Freedom now or let it burn, let it burn."

Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

A characterization of the  
Black Panther Party is  
contained in the Appendix.



BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka  
Black Panther Party for  
Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality," to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

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SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

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100-447251-80

F B I

Date: 10/18/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

b6  
b7C

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-161321)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTYb6  
b7C

ReBuairtel to NY, 10/14/68.

Yonkers Police Department taped speech of subject given at Iona College, New Rochelle, NY, on 10/11/68. Equipment needed to make copies of tape has not been functioning properly and copy of tape will not be available until at least 10/17 or 18/68.

NY will follow and obtain copy of tape as soon as possible.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

REC-68

EX-101

OCT 25 1968

1d (3-Bureau  
1-New York

JEG:jgm  
(5)

C.C. Bishop

OCT 25 1968

REC'D 03:11:11 DIA

54 OCT 31 1968

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL  
ON 11-30-2005

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

Director, FBI

1 - Mr.

b6  
b7C

LEROY ELBRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Memoranda concerning the subject's speeches on October 13, 1968, at Intermediate School 258, Brooklyn, New York, and at Wollman Auditorium, Columbia University, New York City, on October 14, 1968, are enclosed.

Also enclosed is a memorandum concerning an article attributed to the subject which appeared in the October 5, 1968, issue of "The Black Panther," official publication of the Black Panther Party. A copy of this issue of "The Black Panther" is also enclosed.

In addition, there is enclosed a memorandum incorporating a transcript of a speech given by the subject at American University, Washington, D. C., on October 18, 1968.

Copies of the enclosed memoranda have been furnished to the Criminal Division.

The enclosed material should be considered in connection with the prosecutive opinion requested in my letter dated September 6, 1968.

REC-31

100-447251

Enclosures - 5

1 - San Francisco (100-55520)

19 OCT 25 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Upon removal of classified material, this letter becomes unclassified.

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
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Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RMH:lmr

(5) *Ym*

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley

NOTE:

Subject is Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, a black extremist group headquartered in Berkeley, California. He has been making a series of speeches throughout the country, primarily on college campuses, which are typically filled with obscenities and frequent revolutionary statements. Bulet 9/6/68 to Department furnished copy of speech given at Xerox Corporation 7/26/68 and requested prosecutive opinion in connection with possible violations of statutes proscribing rebellion or insurrection, seditious conspiracy and advocating violent overthrow of the Government. Department advised 10/2/68 that matter is currently under consideration. Speeches at Omaha 8/24/68 and Irvine, California, 9/26/68 have also been referred to Internal Security Division. Letter classified "Confidential" as two enclosures (WFO memorandum 10/22/68, and New York memorandum 10/17/68 concerning Intermediate School 258 speech) so classified on basis that data from informants of continuing value could reasonably result in their identification and compromise their future effectiveness. Enclosures are copies of enclosures to two New York airtels 10/17/68, Bufile 176-989; San Francisco letter 10/15/68, Bufile 105-165706; San Francisco airtel 10/14/68 and WFO airtel 10/22/68, subject's file. Three of enclosures contain obscene material and being sent under "Obscene" cover.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

655 MAG 10-7-60

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WITH AGENCY CONTRIBUTING THOSE FINGERPRINTS.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
Police Department Los Angeles California	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Junior #5348 W 10	October 31, 1952	suspicion Narcotic Act felony delinquent	
Sheriff's Office Los Angeles California	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Junior #B-245360	November 5, 1952	"700 M WIC"- Narcotics	released to custody of Preston School of Industry Ione California
Police Department Los Angeles California	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Junior #227400	February 13, 1954	suspicion Narcotic Act (felony)	State Prison "D45" June 9, 1954 (Csl62601) on charge of suspicion 11500 Health and Safety
Sheriff's Office Los Angeles California	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Junior #B-245360/ B-305651	February 16, 1954	possession of narcotics "(M)"	released to custody of California Institution for Men Chino California
California State Bureau	Leroy E. Cleaver #A-29498	June 18, 1954	possession narcotics (11500 Health and Safety Code)	6 months to 10 years. December 3, 1956 paroled June 12, 1968 paroled

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54 OCT 30 1968

Notations indicated by \* are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as  
being possibly identical with subject of this record.

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

file 100-447251

**UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE**  
**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**  
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2

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CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
Police Department Los Angeles California	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Junior #LA 227 400 C	November 3, 1957  November 4, 1957	suspicion assault with intent to murder violation State Parole	State Prison concurrent concurrent with unexpired parole time, Count 6, 7 Not Guilty "D44" March 11, 1958 "Cs 196660" Fine guilty assault with a deadly weapon/ intent murder (Count 2 3) Four Guilty assault with a deadly weapon (Count 4, 5 8.)
Sheriff's Office Los Angeles California	LeRoy Eldridge Cleaver #B-245360/ B-515769	November 6, 1957	assault with intent to commit murder assault with intent to commit rape (2 counts) and assault with a deadly weapon (2 counts)	released to custody of California Institution for Men Chino California
State Bureau Sacramento California	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver #A-29498-A	March 20, 1958	Parole Violator (assault with intent to commit murder 4 counts and assault with a deadly weapon with prior felony conviction pled and proven each count, all con- current and concurrent with present term)	6 months to 14 years 4 counts and 6 months to 10 years all concurrent and concurrent with present term December 12, 1966 paroled

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John Edgar Hoover  
Director



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CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
Police Department Sacramento California	Eldridge Cleaver #S-14017	May 2, 1967	182.1 Penal Code Black Panther	released per District Attorney no complaint Enroute California State Parole released from custody both on May 3, 1967.
Police Department Oakland California	Elridge Cleaver #200160	April 7, 1968	3 counts 187 Penal Code (attempted murder)	
California State Bureau	Leroy E. Cleaver #A29498A Residence: Vacaville, California	April 7, 1968	Parole Violator	To finish term
Sheriff's Office Oakland California	Eldridge Cleaver #68-4065  Business Address: San Francisco, California	April 10, 1968	217 Penal Code 3 counts and prior (assault with intent to kill)	dismissed and turned over to 68-4563
Sheriff's Office Oakland California	Elridge Cleaver #68/4563  Business Address: San Francisco, California	April 25, 1968	attempted 187 Penal Code 2 counts and 245B Penal Code 2 counts	

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John Edgar Hoover  
Director

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CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
Sheriff's Office Fairfield California	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver #68975  Residence: 850 Oak Street	June 12, 1968	3 counts 187 Murder Warrant 3 counts 245b Penal Code assault with deadly weapon warrant San Francisco California	

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John Edgar Hoover  
Director

555 WAC 10-7-68

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FLASH: If arrested prior to March 20, 1971  
Notify Division of Adult Parole Department of  
Correction Sacramento California information  
received December 20, 1966.

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
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WASHINGTON, D.C., 20537

555 WAG 10-7-68

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
Director.

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The following FBI record, NUMBER 214 830 B, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

All descriptive factors (if any) furnished by you match those in our identification file unless herein quoted.

DESCRIPTION AND RELATED DATA:

Race: Negro

Sex: Male

Height: 74 inches

Weight: 195 pounds

Hair: Black

Eyes: Brown

Date and Place of Birth: August 31, 1935 Arkansas

Scars & Marks: Numerous Pock scars back and torso.

Address: In 1968: 850 Oak Street San Francisco, California

Occupation: Writer and Reporter

Information shown on this Identification Record represents data furnished FBI by fingerprint contributors. Where final disposition is not shown or further explanation of charge is desired, communicate with agency contributing those fingerprints.

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RACIAL

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

**SECRET**

FBI

DATE: 02-21-2006

CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DG/EHL

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 02-21-2031

AIRTEL

Via \_\_\_\_\_

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO (157-2026) (P)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPPALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISEb6  
b7C

Re WFO tel 10/18/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies and for San Francisco, two copies of an LHM containing a verbatim transcript of the speech made by captioned subject at American University on 10/18/68.

The LHM is marked confidential to protect the source.

In view of the frequency of obscene words and remarks, the entire LHM is being handled in accordance with instructions for obscene language. The LHM will be placed in an envelope marked obscene.

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED source mentioned in the LHM

ENCLOSURE

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 8) - 82400 copies R 8044  
2 - San Francisco (100-55520) (Enc. 2) (AM) (RM)  
3 - WFO  
(1 - 157-1956) (Black Panther Party)  
(1 - 100-47754) (Student Agitation at American University)

RNW;arw  
(8)

AIRTEL

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

79 OCT 31 1968

**SECRET**

~~SECRET~~

WFO 157-2026

Radio station WAMU on American University Campus taped the speech by CLEAVER. This tape was obtained by the source and is the basis for the transcription in the LHM.

Copies of the LHM will be disseminated locally to Secret Service, AUSA, OSI, NISO and 116th MIG.

b1

(S)

[redacted] also advised that he had heard subject received \$500 for his engagement and asked for an additional \$500 should his speech be published or recorded for broadcast. PSI was not able to confirm this but it is the rumor on the campus.

With respect to the heckling of subject there was no organization and it was entirely individual instances numbering no more than five or six during the entire talk. On one occasion a voice from inside a nearby dorm said, "Why don't you give me a break?". Subject responded, "I'll break your (obscene) neck." Other indistinct remarks brought responses from subject such as "I'll see you there," apparently referring to hell.

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

100-447251-83

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DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

This enclosure not to be opened  
without supervisor's permission.

*O. H. G. G.*

100-447257-82

ENCLOSURE

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

October 22, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

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DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL  
ON 11-30-2005

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Leroy Eldridge Cleaver gave a speech at American University, Washington, D. C., on October 18, 1968. Cleaver's appearance was sponsored by the "University and Revolution" course at American University under the direction of the School of International Service Assistant Dean Cary Weaver. Prior to Cleaver's appearance, Roselyn Gabrielski, a self-admitted member of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), said the SDS was also sponsoring the program.

D.2  
The SDS is described in the appendix pages.

Cleaver was introduced by an individual who identified himself as Dennis Sinclair (phonetic), National Coordinator of the Peace and Freedom Party. Sinclair introduced Cleaver as author of the book "Soul On Ice", lecturer and presidential candidate of the Peace and Freedom Party.

The source advised that about 1,500 persons attended the speech which was held in the Woods-Brown Outdoor Theater at American University. The audience was composed mainly of white, college age individuals. Cleaver spoke for about forty five minutes and was generally well received by the audience. The source advised that there were no incidents or disturbances in connection with the appearance.

The source obtained a recording of Cleaver's speech, a verbatim transcript of which follows:

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1

~~Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

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LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

(Applause) I want to say that I'm very glad to be here particularly because this is the Capital of the United States of America, the pig pen of Babylon. (Applause) I'd like to come here in a Sherman tank. This is the place where mass murder is plotted against the people, where simple minded mother fuckers like Lyndon Baines Johnson (Applause), Hubert Humphrey, Richard Nixon and all these other political freaks enact their plots against the people. Yesterday I went down to see my parole officer in San Francisco to get his permission to come here, and he told me that he thought I shouldn't come here because the FBI had contacted him and stated that because some black cat had been shot by a cop for jaywalking that the situation here was too tense, that they didn't want anybody here talking crazy and that it would be better if I didn't show up here. Well, my parole officer has been thru a lot changes and so he left it up to me, it was my decision, and so I came and fuck J. Edgar Hoover (Applause) and the FBI and all of them because they seem to have forgotten that they are public servants, that they don't own the people of this country, they're supposed to be carrying out a job for the people, and I know that they are here today and I wonder if they will stand up and identify themselves. (Laughter and Applause) Are there any pigs here today? It's a strange situation when you know that they are here amongst the people but for some strange reason they won't stand up. They must be up to something wrong. Because I don't know why that they feel that is necessary for them to hide, to infiltrate audiences and to sneak around and peep around and snoop on the people. There must be something wrong with what they are doing, infiltrating. They must be enemies of the people instead of public servants. I say they are enemies of the people because this entire government, this entire government of the United States...well, all of the governments of the United States; state, local, federal, secret, undercover, behind the scenes, all of the pigs of the power structure are the enemies of the people, so, they do well to sneak around and infiltrate audiences and not make themselves known because

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LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

I'm sure that there will be somebody who'll remember their face and when the shit goes down that somebody might grab him by their neck and break it. (Applause) Because that's what happens to the pigs in the situation we're in and the one that we're coming into. They want to make us believe that the people of this country have become impotent, that there is nothing that they can do to move to control their own destiny, that in fact you have to leave it up to buffoons like this racist pig from Alabama, George Wallace (Applause), or this...my home boy, my home boy bone nose Nixon, and meat head Humphrey. Listen, I don't know how many of you are going to vote in November but I would tell you this, I'm not here seeking votes. I'm the presidential nominee of the Peace and Freedom Party, but it's only the visionaries within the Party who think that we're going to have a President in the White House this time around. As a matter of fact if I was elected I would not enter the White House. I would send a wrecking crew there to burn the mother fucker down. (Applause) Burn it down and we could build a monument to the decadence of the past on the ashes that would be left because there is nothing happening there. There's never been a President in that building who has done his job, who has fulfilled his responsibilities to the people, there have been gangsters, criminals, and cutthroats in that White House and it needs to be abolished along with the political machinery in this country that allows them to wiggle their way into there. It needs to be abolished, if you don't realize that then you don't understand what's going on in the world today, you don't understand the task confronting your generation and you're not going to be able to deal with it when it's thrust upon you. It's coming to you, you have pigs like General Hershey, General Curtis Le May, General Edwin Walker from Texas, you remember him? He was the first of the mad men to manifest himself out of the ranks of the United States Army in our time. I don't know what...I just want to cuss, you dig it? Washington, D. C. ...some cold shit. But I come from a state where they have this place they

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LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

call Disneyland, and we have a governor out there from Disneyland also, (Laughter and Applause), his name is Mickey Mouse Reagan, your probably familar with him from having suffered thru some of his grade B movies, you know. But I think he did all of us a favor because there were a lot of people who were confused by him, they didn't know really where he was at, they had some suspicions but when the students at Berkeley offered to let me participate in a course there he ran out front and oinked in the face of the people and now they see him for what he is a racist pig who has nothing on his mind, nothing. But he has behind him a lot of political manipulators who have power on their minds, number one amongst them is this Donald Duck Rafferty, Max Rafferty, have you ever heard of him? Have you ever heard of Max Rafferty? Too bad, because he's bad news. He's built a career and is snooping around in the text books combing thru the footnotes trying to find the word communism or red or a lot of other categories that he thinks are subversive and he managed to wiggle his way into public office that way. This punk has a Ph.D in physical education, they call him Doctor Rafferty. He's a doctor of baseball, volleyball and some of them other balls that he's into. He's a simple punk that's what he is. But I say I'm most concerned with this man, Ronald Reagan, because I challenged him to a duel, I was serious about that shit, I reiterate the challenge right here in the capital of the United States, that I challenge Ronald Reagan to a duel to the death or until he says Uncle Eldridge. Dig it. (Applause) And I will give him the choice of weapons, he can choose anything from a baseball bat, a knife, a gun or a marshmallow and I'll beat him to death with a marshmallow. That's what he's into but the punk didn't accept the challenge. They asked him about it at a news conference and he came out with some long verbage, you know. But I told him I would meet him in a alley on a dark street, anywhere and I'd kick him in his ass because that's what he needs (Applause), that's what he needs. But what he did instead of moving to deal with that

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LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

situation he went to my parole officer to the prison officials and he's got these chumps talking about I got to go back to the penitentiary. I ain't going, see, I'm not going. (Applause) Therefore, if he wants anybody to go back I say he can send his mama there and he can go back there with her and be her cell partner if they're into that, I don't know. But he's into so much other simple bullshit that I can't begin to relate to him or the parole people or those pigs that control those penitentiaries I went there once...I went on a field trip for you to investigate that shit so that you wouldn't have to go and I'm here now to give my report. And I just want to say I want to make it brief that there ain't nothing there that you need to go there to get, you can get it out here, we got pigs out here and they have pigs in there and they all oink in the same voice, so you don't need to go in there to investigate that. I'm satisfied with the time I spent there, while I was there I went to every part of it from the hospital to solitary confinement, I didn't like anything about it including the medicine, and they can have it and I'm not going back, I'd rather stay out here, die out here than go back in there and have those pigs having me up against the wall (later for that) I'm going to stay out here, shoot me down in the streets, shoot me right now, I'm not going back to the penitentiary, I didn't leave nothing there except half of my mind and half of my soul, they can have that (later for it). So Mickey Mouse Reagan, lynching Baines Johnson, meathead Humphrey, bone nose Nixon and this little featherweight, featherbrain punk from Alabama (later for you, later for everything that you're into) because what we're about is bringing an end to your game. (Applause) It's overdo and you can no longer get away with it, I don't give a fuck how many signs they have up there talk about Nixon is the one. Yea, he is the one, he is the one, he is the one going into the White House in November, all this propaganda about a ground swell of public opinion for George Wallace all of this is publicity manipulated and paid for by Richard Nixon because he wants to be able to come before the people and say we have a wild

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LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

eyed radical on the right, I'm in the middle, and we had a wild eyed flaming left wing radical, meathead Humphrey on the left. We can't be going for that, we have to start thinking about alternative ways of dealing with this situation. I say this, that since they have closed all the channels for a redress of the grievances of the people that we have to look at history for precedents and we have a very fine one that they call the Boston Tea Party. We need another Boston Tea Party from one end of Babylon to the other (Applause) because if we can't get it that way...and I'm not talking a tea party where white people put on some Indian clothes and some head dresses and pretend to be dissatisfied, I'm talking about white people coming out in there own face with some real Indians there, with some black people there, with some Puerto Ricans there, with every ethnic group that we have in this country there to protest... not only to protest but to take some action to drag the pigs of the power structure out by their ears and throw them into the garbage cans of history where they belong. (Applause) Because they are nonfunctional for us today but they have gone for us today without work I don't care whether they like it or not, I know they don't like it but what they have to do is just come on out front tear up the Constitution. Let the people know the Constitution and the Bill of Rights are nothing but toilet paper so that they can begin to wonder what is the relationship between the people in this country. We say all power to the people, black power for black people, white power for white people, red power for red people, brown power for brown people, yellow power for Mao Tse-tung, Ho-Chi Minh and all of their brothers and sisters, (Applause), whether the pigs of the power structure like it or not. Whether they like it or not, whether you like it or not, whether you can relate to it, the oppressed people of the world are moving, they're not going to accept this shit any longer and we're here within the belly of the whale in Babylon to join forces with them, not ashamed of it, in fact proud of it, proud to take our place in the ranks of the revolutionary third world, and we ask all white people who can relate to that to come out and help to deal with this situation so that the people of the

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LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

world can be liberated. (Applause) I know that a lot of people, particularly black people get up tight when I say white power for white people; someone asked me one day what you talking about, man, white people for white people, I mean they been fucking over us all this time and why you want to give them some more power, even talk about power for them. But the point is that white people may think that they have had power in this country but they've had pig power masquerading in their name. They've had pig power or else why would they need power in their hands now in order to get the pigs off their backs. (Applause) I think that that distinction is becoming clear, the contradiction is becoming more apparent and we need definitions that would distinguish the people from the pigs because there are more people in this country than there are pigs. There's the pigs in the audience, the cops, racist gestapo pigs but there are more people here than there are pigs and if I thought there were more pigs here than there were people I would just stand up here and oink so that they could understand me. (Laughter and Applause) There are more people in this country than there are pigs. Now they put out a lot of lying propaganda about the Black Panther Party, they say that the Black Panther Party is a conspiratorial organization, that it's racist and that it wants to do is to drive through the white suburbs and to murder all the little white children. Well, this is part of their program of distortion to perpetuate confusion so that the people of this country will be looking at each other as their enemies instead of focusing on the true enemies of the people. If you notice any news about the Black Panther Party what you've heard in terms of violence is always been cases of members of the party in confrontation with the Police Department. You cannot find any incidents of members of the Black Panther Party in any altercations with people, just plain ordinary Joes and Johns, ordinary citizens of the community. You won't find that but you find instances where we defend ourselves against these pigs who come into our community like a occupying army who are there to protect the

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LEREOY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

interests of those businessmen, there to keep black people suppressed and contained, yeah, we repudiate them, we want them out of our community and we're going to get them out if we have to drive them out with guns because they are there with guns, black people have lived under the gun every minute that they've been here and we want an end to that and the only way we see to bring an end to that is to get their guns out of our community and we think we have a right to that. We believe that we have a right to that, we don't see any reason why we have to submit to that kind of shit. Take their guns back to the white community if the white community will tolerate that. But get out of our community, our demand is that those who police our community must live in our community. (Applause) You gonna come in there and brutalize us you come there and sleep at night so we will know how to find you because when you brutalize us you shoot us we gonna hang you by your mother fucking neck until you dead. And you need to know that, you need to know that just as the Jews hunted down Adolf Eichmann we gonna keep a list ourselves and when we get our hands on you we gonna execute you for crimes against the people. Why is that you can take Hitler and his followers; Mussolini and his followers; Tojo and his followers and take them to Nuremberg and put them on trial for being war criminals, well, you're just as much war criminals as they are, you are human rights criminals, you are guilty of denying the people life, liberty (a trumpet or something sounds at this time and Cleaver says fuck you) and the pursuit of happiness. You're guilty of that, we no longer accept it, we never really dug it and we're just now getting to a situation where we know we don't have to go for it any longer and we're very glad about that and we're not going to miss this opportunity because it looks to us like we have genocide in store for us on the horizon. We have a pig like George Wallace running around here receiving the endorsement of General Hershey the same chump who sends these greetings to these young black brothers and you young white brothers here to go to Vietnam and murder those people over there, for what? Any time we



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LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

have a punk like that, a General produced by this Army and another one Curtis Le May who has the audacity to be the running mate of George Wallace, and then Edwin Walker, anytime an army produces three men like that I say that it needs to be abolished lock, stock and barrel. That we don't need it. (Applause) We don't need an army. We don't need an army because the people of the world needs armies against this army. Because whether you know it or not, whether you like it or not the United States of America has become the number one enemy of mankind, the number one obstacle to human progress and they are doing all these things in the name of the people, talking about it's in the interest of the people that these things be done and that's a lie. That's a lie, the people of this country have no interest, no vested interest in continuing that murderous war in Vietnam, they have no interest in perpetrating these wars on the people of the world. In fact the interest of this country, the interest of the people of this country is to put an end to war, put an end to exploitation (Applause) and to put an end to all contradictions (Applause) amongst the people. Because there is no longer any need for that, there ain't no need for that shit. Logically speaking, productivity is such in this country that the production are so vast in this country that there is absolutely no reason for the people of this country to be involved in a dog eat dog rat race for existence. There is no reason for that shit, (Applause), the only reasons... we don't have economic reasons for that, they are only political reasons. The fact is that this system is organized on a capitalistic basis, that in order for everything or anything to happen in this country, some big fat capitalist has to make a profit or to see some possibility of making a profit. I say that we need to put an end to profit motive in civilization and substitute one of cooperation (Loud Applause)...substitute the profit...substitute the principle of cooperation because there is no conflict on the face of the planet earth today that cannot be solved. Everything from the war between the Jews and the Arabs, that even can be solved, they're all the

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LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

same people, they're all semetic over there. If you get these capitalistic imperialistic bastards out of Vietnam, if you get them out of the middle east, stop them from supplying arms to both sides, you can put an end to that conflict. Let them know that they're not going to be able to continue stealing oil from the middle east, that the revenue from the oil there should go to build up the life for the people there and all the resources of the planet earth should be employed to insure that every man, woman, and child on the face of the planet earth receives the very highest and the best standard of living that human knowledge and technology is capable of providing. (Applause) They have a right to that, anything standing in the way of that has to go. Anything and everything standing in the way of that has to go, and we have no need of being fearful of taking a stand on that, because after all, the only thing that they could do is to put us in the penitentiary or kill us. That's the only choice that they have, the only choice that they have as far as I'm concerned is killing me. Because penitentiary has been ruled out and we all (a helicopter flys by)(fuck you)...we all need to get into a frame of mind where we do not be intimidated by pigs and helicopters, by pigs crawling around on the ground, pigs masquerading as students, pigs masquerading as members of the mass media or the pigs of the mass media themselves. (Laughter and Applause) We don't have to be intimidated by them. We don't have to go for their lies. We have to recognize that the basic problem of this country today is that of confusion. Primarily because of the distortions, the lies that we hear over the radio, television, and through the newspapers and magazines. They have to clean up the lies and smooth over...gloss over all this shit that is going on. You have a president who has been repudiated by his own party because he is a liar. He's not the first president who was a liar and the next chap that gets in there, he is going to be a lying mother-fucker, see...because he's lying to get in you dig it. They call that a creditability gap. What does that mean? Those American euphemisms, he's a lying mother-fucker, that's what he is. From Texas, from (Applause) Texas

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LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

where they like everything big, see, so he's a big liar from Texas where they like everything big (Laughter), a big liar. You see, he made a big mistake too, the first thing that he did when he got into the White House was to turn off all the lights, remember that, talking about he was trying to save money on the electricity bill, he wasn't interested in saving money or he wouldn't be blowing up all that money in those bombs that he's been sending over to Vietnam. (Applause) That's not his concern. You remember his partner, Walter Jenkins, they caught him dirtying the toilet somewhere on the eve of the elections trying to get another vote for his partner. Well, I mean he was campaigning too, he was doing his odd thing the best that he knew how and that might have something to do with why that chap turned off all those lights, (Laughter). I don't know. I mean this, we're at a university and this is where you are supposed to deal with speculation, so I'm just speculating I don't have no concrete information. (Laughter) But there is something wrong there, there is something up under there, you know. I want to say something to the ladies here. Is it against the law to cuss here in Washington, D.C.? Well, I didn't endorse that law, I'm a tax payer too. I get robbed for my money just like anybody else and I don't authorize the law against Eldridge Cleaver standing up on the campus of American University and saying fuck the pigs of the power structure, I endorse the law that would permit that. So all of you misguided pigs who may be thinking of arresting me for that, I want you to know that as a member of the public and as one of your employers, go somewhere else and watch some of those Republicans and Democrats where the crimes are being plotted and where you would be doing the most good, we don't need you here, as a matter of fact, we don't want you here, you're out of order, go back and tell this decrepit punk J. Edgar Hoover that he has a misconception of his job, not only do we want to abolish his office, we want to abolish him (Applause), because he has been around too long, he's been around too long and the only place that I see for him is in a

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LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

museum, in a museum somewhere along with the army, along with the Democratic Party (Applause), along with the Republican Party (Applause), along with NBC, ABC, CIA and all the rest of that shit (Applause)(later for that)...But I want to say this to the ladies, that political power grows out of the lips of a pussy, and we call that pussy power, and what we need in this country is a movement amongst women (two young women got up and left)...there they go running off they haven't heard the rest of it see, (Laughter), come back here with that thing, bring that thing back here, (Laughter), I want to talk about it (Applause)...Look a here we need a movement in this country amongst the women who will recognize that today everybody in this country is either part of the solution or part of the problem, and we want to get one point across, that everything can be progressive or it can be reactionary, it can even be revolutionary, even love, romance, sex, fucking, adultery, fornication, (to a Clergyman in the audience) hello father. It can be that way. It can be progressive and I'm saying that the women who feel that they're part of the solution, how can you justify laying up with part of the problem. You can't do that. I'm saying that we need to employ every weapon at our disposal and as far as these men are concerned you have the ultimate weapon between your thighs, and you ought to use it, use it with some discrimination (Laughter)... instead of just squandering the resources of the people that way. (Applause) I'm saying...I'm saying that you can put these chaps up tight by cutting them off, cut them off and don't give them no more sugar until they straighten up their hand...all these black cats cut them off until they join the Black Panther Party, all these white cats cut them off until they straighten up their hand and join the Peace and Freedom Party, have to put some backbone in it, relate to the necessity of men continuing to realize that they are still the masters of the tribe, that the tribe had been set upon by pigs and it is necessary to bring the pigs to bay, a bay of pigs, right

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here in Babylon. That's what we need right here so I'm telling you girls get yourselves some buttons. If you don't have the heart to stand up and say pussy power on your lapel, just say P. power, and people will understand what you mean. (Laughter) But you are not justified to give aid and comfort to the enemy. (Laughter) Drive these chaps away from you, if they come to you on the telephone hang up in their face, if they write you letters tear them up and flush them down the toilet and if they come knocking on your door sic a dog on them, but make them act in the desired manner or don't let them act at all...later for them...and if you don't do that all that I can say is shame on you, you may as well go and lay up with Lyndon Johnson or meat head Humphrey, bone nose Nixon, Wallace, Rafferty or that chap from California by the name of Mickey Mouse Reagan, go lay up with them and make it obvious as to where you are at because what you are doing now is slowing down time, slowing down the revolution, slowing down the struggle and letting these chaps masquerade as men, just because they have been born with a dick between their legs don't make them a man, there are other standards that you have to live up to, this is why we say that certain people behave as though they are less than a man. So there are standards to live up to and one of those standards is to see to it that people are not suppressed and oppressed and suffering of the yoke of these pigs. So I would ask you to get into that and I'm going to keep on talking about it, and you ought to be glad that I'm doing it, because I'm doing it because none of you have the gall to stand up here and do it for yourself (Applause). I know that there must have been a lot of you who have wanted to do that. It must have been a lot of you who wanted to talk about that in public but you probably felt a little intimidated by the victorian morals that you read in the newspaper, that you see on television and that masquerade as the behavior of the people. (a group of older people left) Good bye all you old people I don't know why you came down here in the first place. Listen all of

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LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

these fathers are motherfuckers they're motherfuckers, they fuck their wives in order to have babies. Your mother and father laid up and fucked, that how you got here. You didn't come out of no test tube and no stork brang you here. So what they want you to say is intercourse, that don't ring no bell for me, I say pussy power, I say motherfucker, every father is a motherfucker, and every mother is a father fucker (Laughter), and you're hypocritical, you're hypocritical, and you have a word problem, if that puts you up tight, and one of the reasons that I go around talking like this in public is not because that I don't have over a five word vocabulary, I could straighten up on a few words, but I do this because I know that this puts it out of these chaps up tight and I want to keep them up tight in every way that I can think of (Applause), everyway that I can think of. If you don't like the way that I walk, I'm going to walk more like that. If they don't like the way I talk, I'm going to talk more into that. If they don't like the way I look I am going to look like that, that why you should let your hair grow long so that you can freak out some more. The only place that we draw a line is that we can't go along with not taking a bath because there are certain things that just get fucking. I don't see why we should put ourselves to that change. So we draw the line there but anything else we can do, let's do it to put them up tight, to keep them up tight, to make them nervous so they have to stay drunk in order to relate and we can continue to turn on and get high (Applause) and we can speed up time and move faster, later for them and their alcoholic torture because it is passe, it's out of style and it is nonfunctional for the present and future. Now just so I won't be arrested by myself, or so I won't have resist arrest by myself I want to recruit some crime fighters right now, and I want to tell you about a song that we have been writing, the name of the song is Fuck Ronald Reagan, it has three stanzas, each stanza has three lines, each succeeding line is precisely the same as the preceeding line and the first is absolutely the same as the title. (Laughter and Applause) All you people who

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don't want to be confused or who don't want the pigs of the power structure to confuse you who might join in, and I'm not going to sing this by myself. You had better leave now, ok, Bye Bye. So I'm going to be your choir master today and I'm going to start with the beat of four, one, two, three, four and on the down beat you come in with fuck Ronald Reagan, ok, (Laughter), three times, we don't got no music yet, we're going to get into that, but we always make a concession to the local people and we reserve the middle stanza for them, so if you have a favorite pig in this area, (Laughter), you have one, if you're not scared, what's his name? The Hill's have it, who is Roy Hill, (Applause), they have a lot of them around here, they got a lot of millionaires around here, but you want Roy Hill, one pig is as good as another, ok, so the middle stanza will be Roy Hill, and just so...Boy...Broy...Broyhill, ok, oink on that right off, so we'll have Broyhill, the second stanza is for Broyhill, and just that no one goes away from here feeling left out, we have the last stanza left for all the pigs, the last stanza is fuck all the pigs, so lets get it together and lets keep it together if you want some inspiration, there's a sign up there...(Laughter)...and...I don't know if that's Humphrey or Dean Rusk, but there is a pig over there see, so alright lets get it together, one, two, three, four, Fuck all...wait a minute...I blew my own song, I wanted to say fuck all the pigs right there, I'm sorry I apologize, wait a minute, one two three four, (Whole crowd sings Fuck Ronald Reagan) one two three four (Fuck Broyhill) wait a minute now, lets get it together, alright alright, we're running out of time we have got to get out of here (Applause). So let's take it from the top again, let's go through without any mistakes ok. One two three four (Fuck Ronald Reagan) one two three four (Fuck Broyhill) one two three four (Fuck All The Pigs)(Loud Applause). We're not going to have no encore, they might hear it, they might find out about it, so we go through it one time, you got the words, you sing it after I'm gone, alright. Listen, everything that we've said here, everything that we say might be wrong, we may be committing crimes against nature. This may be outrageous, I don't believe so but I mean we're

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not acquainted with any ultimate truth. It may be that when we die we will find ourselves before the throne of God, (helicopter flys over), that ain't him, that really ain't him. But all these preachers, all these priests, all these old people who still look to God for deliverance, they may know what they are talking about and we may find ourselves before the throne of God, looking up at him with his long hippy hair and he may cast a judgment on us and cast us down into the hell fire to burn for days, I don't know that might happen. (Heckler shouts "give us a break") Jump out the window and break your mother fucking neck punk. (Loud Applause) What I'm trying to say is this, that we may find ourselves in hell burning for what we have said here today, right now, right on. And if we find ourselves there I'm going to look for you. Will that cat identify himself, step forward when you see me come down there and we're going to try to re-activate the Black Panther Party, the Peace of Freedom Party, and move against the devil, because we don't have to accept that either. And if God comes down (Applause) on the elevator in his asbestos suit and forms a coalition with the devil to keep us there, then we'll just have to move against him too. Because the people don't have to accept pain, oppression, and torture from anything or anybody. There's nothing or anybody authorized to inflict pain and torture and suffering upon the people, and if we feel that way about the devil and God, we definitely feel that way about the oinks running around here oinking in the face of the people. Later for them and later their works and we're going to do something about it. The sad part for them is that they're the ones who have a crisis on their hands, we don't have a crisis on our hands, it's their system that's in the middle of a crisis, their system is in the middle of a crisis, and the people are getting organized, they're coming together and they're moving against the system, and the pigs are up tight, they're talking about they're trying to save the situation for the people, spreading all this propaganda, trying to frighten people, trying to frighten white

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people into believing that the victims of racism have become racists and the fact is that black people, their total orientation is counter to racism. They have been fighting against racism ever since they have been here and they don't want it, not for themselves and they definitely don't want to be the victims of racism at the hands of the people who have practiced it on them all this time. So we are here to say that we are against racism. We are here to say that we oppose racism no matter what color it is black or white, red or yellow, brown, blue or green, I don't care if it is the color of Lyndon Johnson. We don't want it. We don't support it and we are going to struggle against it and we ask everybody to join in that struggle and let the people begin to write our history. Let there be a history by the people of the people and for the people. Let there be a government of the people, by the people and for the people. No more history for the pigs, of the pigs and by the pigs. No more government for the pigs of the pigs and by the pigs. Let's deal with this situation because the world demands it. What happens here in America decides the future of the whole world. You realize that we have madmen with their fingers on buttons that could destroy the world if they're pushed and I don't know any reason for believing that a fool like Johnson or Nixon, or Humphrey, or Wallace will not take that step, thinking that they are slick, thinking that they will get away with it. I say that the situation is too dangerous, and the only hope of this country, the only hope of this world, is for the people to get together and change this system as they have a right to do. They have a right to do it, they don't have to be intimidated, they don't have to be intimidated by rhetoric, they don't have to be intimidated by assassins, they don't have to be intimidated by court decrees, they don't have to be intimidated by anything because the spirit of the people is greater than the pigs technology. Whether the pig knows it or not, they cannot force us to stop talking unless they just do it bodily or physically. They're

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not going to be able to heckle us or jeckle us and fuck us out of our rights as we see them, later for you. We want you to know that there are too many niggers in this country to go for that. If the white people of this country want to play Nazis, we are not going to play Jews. (Applause) We are not going to do that. We're going to defend ourselves, we're going to defend each other, and we will join forces with those white people who will join forces with us. Not only that, we will join forces with all the revolutionary peoples of the world. We call for the evacuation of United States troops from Guantanamo Bay. Get the dagger out of the heart of the Cuban People (Applause). We call for the immediate withdrawal of all the troops in Vietnam. Don't tell us that you have to go through all those negotiations in Paris. There ain't nothing to negotiate except your withdrawal. Get the pigs out of Vietnam. Let the Vietnamese people enact their own destiny. It's their right and you don't have a right to be over there, building things and negotiating things. The only thing to negotiate is some time for Ho Chi Minh to get those boys out of there and bring them back home. We want the boys to come back home because we know that the only reason that they are over there is because you've manipulated them with propaganda. You told them that they are doing their duty. You told them that in order to be patriotic they had to respond to the summons and to go there whenever General Hershey or Curtis Le May ordered them to go. We want them to stop murdering those people over there. We want them back here, not to join the police force and to murder us here but to join the people to form a people's militia and offer some defense against the people where they need it, right here against the pigs who want to turn America into another fascist Nazi Germany. That's what they're moving to do (Applause) they're talking about it publicly now and it's up to us, it's up to YOU, because the fools like myself who stand up and run our mouth, they're going to knock us up, they're going to rip us up, they're going to shoot us down, and the only thing that we ask is that you relate to what Che Guevara had to say, that wherever death

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LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

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may surprise us, it will be welcome provided that this our battle cry reaches some receptive ear, that another hand reaches out to pick up weapons, that other fighting men come forward to intone our funeral dirge to a staccato of machine guns and new cries of battle and victory. All power to the people, we need some student power, we need some faculty power, whether they want it or not. We need some guest lecturer power and we need public servants to start acting like public servants, to stop biting the hand that feeds them or that hand is going to have to rise up and snap that head off their shoulders, because we're not going to go for any more. All you people who are in college, who are deciding which way to go better make up your mind quick because they have pigs who will blow your mind for you and I mean with a gun. All of you who support Eugene McCarthy you must have some hint of what I'm talking about. Eugene McCarthy who lived, who functioned here in the pigpen of Washington, D. C., member of the United States Senate, pigpen of pigpens, all of his supporters, who went to Chicago hoping to raise a strong voice on behalf of ending the war got all the fat cooked off their heads by racist pig cops under the orders of a racist Mayor Daley, under the orders of a racist Democratic Party, in cahoots with the racist Republican Party, backed up by the racist and avaricious businessmen all of the demagogic politicians and you better dig this, that it looks like the police of this country are going crazy, doesn't it? Running around killing people? The reason that they didn't want me to come here is that they thought that I'd talk about this brother who was jaywalking out there and some pig drove up and blew him away. Well, the behaviour of these cops across this country in this day and time is a phenomenon. And what it means is that the police agencies of this country have developed a caste consciousness. And you remember this if you don't remember anything else, that we've been talking about a police, I mean a military-industrial complex. Start talking about a police-military-industrial complex because these cops have developed a caste consciousness, they're motivated by honor, patriotism and defending the borders of civilization

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against barbaric hordes. Niggers from the ghettos, that's what that means. So, that's what they're into. They're the best organized groups in this country. They have political machinery. The governing body of the police in this country is the International Association of Chiefs of Police. The Chief of Police in San Francisco, Chief Cahill, has just been appointed to head that. But you better think about that, think about this merciless caste of knights in dull armor who are moving, who support Wallace, support the military, support the war, who oppose everything beneficial for the people and who represent a standing army in the middle of the people, a racist, hostile, gestapo force that just has to be taught that they are public servants and they have no right to drive over them people. The oppressors have no right, that the oppressed are bound to respect. All power to the people and I hope that I get out of your funky, pigpen state in a half a piece, I'll be glad if I can deal with that. POWER.  
(Applause, Long)

Parenthetical notations set forth in the verbatim transcription are intended to show audience reaction and Cleaver's reaction to certain events which occurred during his talk.

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## APPENDIX

### STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of April 18, 1967, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

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100-447251-83

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: 10/15/68

FROM : SAC, SACRAMENTO (157-610)

SUBJECT:

LEROEY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

RM - BPP

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SYMPOSIUM

DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

RACISM IN AMERICA

Sacramento State College

Sacramento, California

9/27/68 - 10/4/68

RM

Re Bureau airtel to Sacramento 10/9/68.

Enclosed herewith are the two (2) tapes concerning  
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER's speech at captioned Symposium at Sacramento  
State College on October 2, 1968.

Complete transcription follows.

- 3 - Bureau (RM) (1 - package) (2)
- 2 - Sacramento
- GMS/kah
- (5)

ENCLOSURE

EX 109

REC-41

100-447251-84

6 OCT 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.  
muller

"ENCLOSURE ON BULKY RAMP"

zerox copy enclosed in  
bulky

1-80

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OCT 28 1968  
XEROX

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 157-6-67-62

VIA TELETYPE

OCT 10 1968

ENCIPHERED

WA 10

137PMV URGENT 10-10-68 JAM

TO DIRECTOR AND SAN FRANCISCO CODE

ATT DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON

FROM NEW YORK 100-161321 1P

DECLASSIFIED BY *SPC/LAC*

ON *8-12-87*

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RM - BPP

(CA 75-62034j)

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b6  
b7C

b6

b7C

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, RELIABLE IN PAST, ADVISED

THIS DATE CLEAVER, [REDACTED]

DEPARTED SAN FRANCISCO AREA NIGHT OF TEN NINE LAST AND  
PRESENTLY ARE IN NEW YORK CITY AREA. RESIDENCE BEING  
UTILIZED BY AFOREMENTIONED INDIVIDUALS WHILE IN NEW  
YORK CITY UNDETERMINED AS YET. SOURCE STATES CLEAVER  
SCHEDULED TO SPEAK HARLEM AREA NEW YORK CITY, WEEKEND  
OF TEN TWELVE NEXT.

CLASSIFIED AND  
EXTENDED BY *SP5 DBC/25/80*  
REASON FOR EXTENSION  
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW FOR  
DECLASSIFICATION *10/10/88*  
*Comp # 81,168*

b6  
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ADMINISTRATIVE

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

WHO IS

b2  
b7D

ATTEMPTING SECURE DETAILS REGARDING ACTIVITIES OF *100-447251-85*  
CLEAVER AND PARTY WHILE IN NEW YORK *REC-47 157-959917*

EX 110

SAN FRANCISCO CONTACT ESTABLISHED AIRLINE SOURCES

YOUR TERRITORY, VERIFY TRAVEL.

END

6 OCT 16 1968

GKNB02/222/6WA DE NY PLS ACM FOR NO 1-8

NOV 1 4 1968

HWL

FBI WASH DC  
MR. TRAINOR  
ROOM 836 9&D

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EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

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RA

EX 110

REC-40

October 29, 1968

100-447231-86

[REDACTED]

INFORMATION CONTAINED

Midland, Michigan 4

INFORMATION IS UNCLASSIFIED

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b7C

DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

Dear [REDACTED]

I received the clipping and your letter on October 25th and certainly share your concern. In view of your interest, I am enclosing some material which contains my views regarding those who foment violence.

With respect to the prosecution of such individuals, this Bureau has furnished voluminous data on them to the Attorney General and you may wish to contact him.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

D

Enclosure

Director's testimony 9/18/68 before National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence.

NOTE: Bufiles contain no identifiable information concerning correspondent. His enclosure is a clipping from an unidentified newspaper concerning Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, who is well known to the Bureau and is on the Security Index and Agitator Index of the San Francisco Office. He is one of eight individuals who has been charged in the April 6th gun battle with police and his trial is scheduled for 12/2/68. He is presently charged with six counts of assault. His state parole has been revoked and barring any legal delays, he is to be taken into custody as a state parole violator 11/27/68.

Toison \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

54 NOV - 1 1968

FMC (3)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐



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DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

*Eldridge*



Midland, Michigan  
48640

b6  
b7C

Mr Hoover

I didnt know who else to write to so?

What can us ordinary citizens do? It simply makes my  
blood boil when I see and read articles of the type I have enclosed.

Why are such people allowed the freedom of this great land  
of ours?

What can we do to get our congressman to write laws to  
have such madedogs either be behind bars or shipped to Russia where  
they belong, if they like it so well.

Im a great admirer of yours and of the secret service,  
keep up the good work

Sincerely



b6  
b7C

(over)

Not because he is a black man, but because he has a black heart & mind.

I have a colored man living beside me, I have always said  
the color of a mans skin has no bearing on the color of his heart.

*10-28-68  
ack.*

**EX 110**

**REC-40**

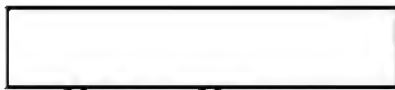
*100-447251-86*

**OCT 30 1968**

*8/20*

*ack  
10-29-68  
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OK  
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MIDLAND, MICHIGAN  
48640

b6  
b7C

Mr Hoover

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DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

I didnt know who else to write  
What can our ordinary citizens do? It  
simply makes my blood boil when I  
see and read articles of the type I have  
enclosed.

Why are such people allowed the freedom  
of this great land of ours?

What can we do to get our congressman  
to write laws to have such mad dogs  
either be behind bars or shipped to

Russia where  
they belong, if they like it so well

I am a great admirer of yours and  
of the secret service, keep up the good  
work

ack/rml  
10-28-68  
ENCLOSURE ATTACHED  
ENCLOSURE  
clipping  
over

b6  
b7C

Sincerely

CORRESPONDENCE



Not because he is a black  
man, but because he has a  
black heart & mind

I have a colored man living  
beside me, I have always said  
the color of a mans skin has  
no bearing on the color of his

heart

4 OCT 25 '68

OCT 25 9 50 AM '68

REC'D-COM & TOURS

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DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

F10  
100-447251-86

**ENCLOSURE**





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DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
George Wallace, right, addresses a  
throne of some 5,000 gathered in Univer-  
sity of California's Sproul plaza for a noon

TAM/MLT/EHLie controversial author,  
ex-convict, and militant Negro leader  
sprinkled his remarks with four-letter ob-  
scenities and with references to police and

**der spouts obscenities**

other officials as "pigs." Cleaver was to  
have delivered a lecture today in a course  
on racial problems, but no classroom space  
has been allocated. AP Wirephoto.

b6  
b7C

*Why are cukes like this at liberty?*  
*Sincerely*   
*I sometimes think we've got* *Wallace*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

b6  
b7C

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)  
FROM: SAC, DENVER (157-254) (P)  
SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

Re San Francisco teletype to the Bureau, etc., dated 10/9/68.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

University of Denver, Denver, Colorado, [redacted] advised on 10/17/68 that subject would speak at the University of Denver at noon on 10/24/68. CLEAVER's speech is sponsored by the University of Denver Student Speakers Committee and CLEAVER is to receive \$1,000 for his speech. Admission of \$1.00 will be charged for outsiders and students are to pay 50¢ each to help defray costs. Arrangements for his speech were made the night of 10/16/68, according to [redacted]

Denver will follow and advise.

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (100-55520) (RM)
- 2 - Denver
- LDN:imw
- (7)

REC-28

100-447251-87

b6  
b7C

OCT 21 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

54 NOV - 5 1968

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

SAC, San Francisco (100-55520)

10-28-68

b6  
b7C

Director, FBI (100-447251)

1 - Mr

*J*  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

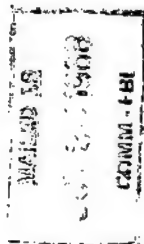
*J*  
The Bureau desires to insure that the Internal Revenue Service receives information concerning the subject's income from speeches. You are requested to submit a letterhead memorandum for dissemination to the Internal Revenue Service listing all of the speeches given by the subject this year and, where available, showing the amounts received for the speeches.

RMH:jth *th*  
(4)

REC-28

100-447251-88

19 OCT 28 1968



Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Rm. \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*147*  
*143*  
*gh*  
54 NOV - 5 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

*gh*

*GH*  
*5210*



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL  
October 21, 1968

REC-28

100-447251-49



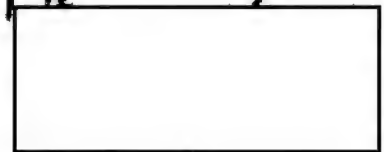
b6  
b7C

*LCM*

b6  
b7C

San Jose, California 95132

Dear

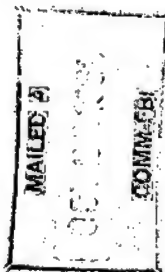


I read your letter of October 14th and certainly share your concern. In view of your interest, I am enclosing some material which contains my views regarding those who foment violence.

With respect to the prosecution of such individuals, this Bureau has furnished voluminous data on them to the Attorney General and you may wish to contact him.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



Enclosure

Director's testimony before the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence.

*adm*  
NOTE: Bufiles show prior outgoing to correspondent 5-5-66 in reply to his letter requesting an opinion on literature he submitted. He is not otherwise identifiable in Bufiles. Eldridge Cleaver is on the Security Index and the Rabble Rousers Index and is the subject of current racial matters investigation by the San Francisco Office. He is one of eight individuals who has been charged in the April 6th gun battle with police and his trial is scheduled for 12-2-68. He is presently charged with six counts of assault. His state parole has been revoked and barring any legal delays, he is to be taken into custody as a state parole violator 11-27-68.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

WMG:cac (3)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

61 NOV 4 1968

*gar/jaw*  
*TEB/a*  
*Swanson 4224*  
*wmg*

62-18  
b6  
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

J. Edgar Hoover  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir,

Leroy I am protesting against the permitted activities of  
Eldridge Cleaver, Black Panther.

How this individual is permitted to do what he is doing  
is a disgrace to California and the United States of  
America.

How tax supported universities, colleges and schools in  
California permit his speaking appearances before students  
is a mystery.

I object and request that something be done at once!

Perhaps the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court would like  
to adopt him!

Respectfully yours,

b6  
b7C

AWJ:ej

REC-28

100-447251-89  
OCT 28 1968

me  
ack  
10-21-68  
Wing/cas  
CORRESPONDENCE

FBI WASH DC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

1012AM DEFERRED 10/24/68 JOC

**TELETYPE**

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251), DENVER, MILWAUKEE, NEW HAVEN AND SACRAMENTO  
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Mr. b6	_____
Mr. b7C	_____

b6  
b7C

LEROEY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RM - BPP

RE MILWAUKEE TELETYPE TO DIRECTOR DATED OCTOBER FIFTEEN SIXTYEIGHT  
CAPTIONED VIDEM, BU AIRTEL TO ALBANY, ET AL DATED OCTOBER TWENTYONE  
SIXTYEIGHT, AND SF TEL CALL TO DENVER OCTOBER TWENTYFOUR SIXTYEIGHT.

ON TEN TWENTYFOUR SIXTYEIGHT

b6  
b7C

ADVISED SUBJECT HAS THE FOLLOWING ENGAGEMENTS:

TEN TWENTYNINE SIXTYEIGHT--UNIVERSITY OF THE PACIFIC,  
STOCKTON, CALIFORNIA

TEN THIRTYONE SIXTYEIGHT---COLLEGE OF MARIN, KENTFIELD, CALIF.

SUBJECT HAS TENTATIVE ENGAGEMENTS, NOT YET APPROVED, AT YALE  
UNIVERSITY ON ELEVEN ELEVEN SIXTYEIGHT AND BELOIT COLLEGE, ELEVEN  
FIFTEEN AND SIXTEEN SIXTYEIGHT.

ENGAGEMENTS AT COLORADO STATE AND UNIVERSITY OF DENVER PREVIOUSLY  
SCHEDULED FOR TEN TWENTYFOUR AND TWENTYFIVE SIXTYEIGHT HAVE BEEN CAN-  
CELLED. SUBJECT HAS NO OTHER COMMITMENTS AT THIS TIME.

INTERESTED OFFICES SHOULD MAKE ARRANGEMENTS TO COVER SUBJECT'S  
SPEECHES WITH PANEL SOURCES WHO WOULD BE AVAILABLE TO TESTIFY AND TO  
ATTEMPT TO RECORD SPEECHES.

END

MKA

54 NOV-5 1968

FBI WASH DC

EX-114

100-447251-90  
16 OCT 28 1968

1 - Mr.

b6  
b7C

SAC, Los Angeles (157-2323)

10-28-68

Director, FBI (100-4472) ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

*old.*  
*0*  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

Reurlet 10-16-68 concerning the speech given by  
the subject at the University of California at Los Angeles  
on 10-4-68.

In addition to furnishing the tape recording of  
the subject's speech, you should submit a transcript of the  
speech by memorandum suitable for dissemination. *C*

RMH:mkl  
(4) *mkl*

NOTE:

The LHM submitted by Los Angeles concerning  
above speech contains brief summaries of subject's remarks

Los Angeles states tapes will be  
forwarded but does not indicate whether a transcript is  
being submitted.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

REC-28

100-447251-91

10 OCT 28 1968

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAILED 24  
OCT 28 1968

COMM-FBI

*43*  
*103*  
*GC*  
**54 NOV - 5 1968**

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

**Memorandum** ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251) DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-2323) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Re Director's airtel to Albany and Los Angeles  
dated 10/21/68.

Contact with sources at University of California  
at Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara, California, disclosed that  
subject did not appear at university either publicly or  
privately for his scheduled appearance. No information  
available at Santa Barbara as to where CLEAVER was on  
10/21/68.

CLEAVER's speech at University of California,  
Los Angeles, on 10/4/68, was taped and has been forwarded  
to the Bureau by previous communication.

B

REC-78

100-447251-92

- 3 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - San Francisco (RM)  
1 - Los Angeles

EX-101

OCT 29 1968

RHR/djy  
(6)

NOV 1 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

NOV 5 - 1968

## Domestic Intelligence Division

## INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 10/15/68

Eldridge Cleaver who is scheduled to speak in Washington, D.C., on 10/18-19/68, may appear at Howard University with Stokely Carmichael on 10/18/68. Cleaver is Minister of Information of Black Panther Party and is on parole after serving eight years of a 14-year sentence for assault with intent to commit murder. He has been the center of a controversy between the Governor and Board of Regents and the University professors in California arising from his appointment as a guest lecturer at the University of California. He has been speaking frequently on college campuses throughout the country. His speeches are filled with obscenities and revolutionary statements.

Copy of attached furnished Inter-Division Information Unit of Department and Attorney General. Also to be included in summary teletype to White House and other interested levels of Government.

RMH:lmr

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Trans DATE 02-21-2006 BY 60309 AUC TAM/DG/EHL  
(Type in plain text or code)

Via TELETYPE

URGENT

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. DeLoach ✓  
Mr. Mohr ✓  
Mr. Bishop ✓  
Mr. Casper ✓  
Mr. Callahan ✓  
Mr. Conrad ✓  
Mr. Felt ✓  
Mr. Gale ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Sullivan ✓  
Mr. Tavel ✓  
Mr. Trotter ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Miss Holmes ✓  
Miss Gandy ✓

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI AND SAC, SAN FRANCISCO

FROM: SAC, WFO (157-NEW)

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, IS -- BPP.

*INTERNAL SECURITY - BLACK PANTHER PARTY*

A SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST ADVISED OCTOBER THIRTEEN LAST THAT ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, MINISTER OF INFORMATION, BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) SCHEDULED TO SPEAK IN WASHINGTON, D. C., OCTOBER EIGHTEEN AND NINETEEN NEXT.

A SECOND SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST ADVISED THAT CLEAVER WILL SPEAK AT HOWARD UNIVERSITY WITH STOKELY CARMICHAEL ON OCTOBER EIGHTEEN NEXT; HOWEVER, LOCATION OF OCTOBER NINETEEN TALK UNKNOWN TO SOURCE

- ② - Bureau
- 3 - Teletype Unit
- 5 - WFO
- (1-157-1292) (BPP)
- (1-157-1383) (HOWARD UNIVERSITY)

REC 36

10 OCT 1968

RNW:bjr  
(10)

b2  
b7D

REC.D 10 OCT 1968

OCT 12 8 10 AM '68

Approved

Special Agent in Charge

Sent M Per



F B I

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)WFO 157-NEW  
PAGE TWOADMINISTRATIVE

WFO ATTEMPTING TO MAKE ARRANGEMENTS FOR TAPE RECORDINGS  
OF CLEAVER'S TALK. SOURCES HAVE BEEN ASSIGNED TO DEVELOP  
DETAILS RE APPEARANCE OF CLEAVER.

FIRST SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

SECOND SOURCE IS [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

SAN FRANCISCO ADVISE ANY INFO REGARDING TRAVEL BY  
CLEAVER TO WASHINGTON, D. C.

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU

*X-Rosen*

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

## Domestic Intelligence Division

## INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 10-17-68

Eldridge Cleaver is Minister of Information of Black Panther Party, West Coast black extremist organization. He has been speaking on college campuses as Presidential candidate of Peace and Freedom Party. His speeches have been described as filled with obscenities and some have included revolutionary statements which are being brought to the attention of the Department for prosecutive opinions. He is on parole after serving eight years for assault with a deadly weapon arising out of attempted rape. He is scheduled to speak at Howard and American Universities 10-18-68.

Pertinent portions of the above included in teletype summary to the White House and other interested agencies. Metropolitan Police Department, Washington, D. C., also being advised. Copies of the attached being furnished Inter-Division Information Unit of the Department and Attorney General.

RMH:lrb

we 5/18

la

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATION SECTION

OCT 17 1968

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC\*

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. DeLoach ✓  
Mr. Mohr ✓  
Mr. Bishop ✓  
Mr. Casper ✓  
Mr. Callahan ✓  
Mr. Conrad ✓  
Mr. Felt ✓  
Mr. Gale ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Sullivan ✓

FBI SAN FRAN

9:09PM DEFERRED 10/16/68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

TO DIRECTOR, BOSTON, CHARLOTTE, JACKSONVILLE, NEW YORK AND

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

LEROEY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER; *Racial Matter* - BPP.

*Black Panther Party*

b6  
b7C

RE JACKSONVILLE AIRTEL TO BUREAU CAPTIONED BLACK PANTHER PARTY,  
OCTOBER NINE, AND WASHINGTON FIELD TELETYPE TO SAN FRANCISCO, OCTOBER  
FOURTEEN.

FOR INFORMATION JACKSONVILLE, SUBJECT IS PERMITTED BY CALIFORNIA  
ADULT PAROLE AUTHORITY TO FILL SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS THROUGHOUT  
CONTINENTAL U. S., HOWEVER, SUBJECT'S PAROLE OFFICER, [REDACTED]  
ADVISED THIS DATE SUBJECT HAS NOT REQUESTED AUTHORITY TO TRAVEL TO  
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA, TO FILL ENGAGEMENT AT FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY ON  
OCTOBER TWENTYONE. HE HAS NOT BEEN KNOWN TO TRAVEL OUTSIDE SAN FRAN-  
CISCO BAY AREA WITHOUT PAROLE AUTHORITY'S PERMISSION.

[REDACTED] ADVISED SUBJECT RECEIVED AUTHORITY TO FILL ENGAGEMENT  
AT STONYBROOK COLLEGE AND/OR MANHATTAN CENTER, NEW YORK CITY, ON OCTO-  
BER SEVENTEEN, HOWEVER, SUBJECT UNABLE TO FILL THIS COMMITMENT  
DUE TO COURT APPEARANCE [REDACTED] DATE [REDACTED] SUBJECT HAS ADVISED HE WILL DEPART SAN  
FRANCISCO OCTOBER SEVENTEEN TO SPEAK HOWARD UNIVERSITY AND AMERICAN

END PAGE ONE

REC 36 100-447254-94

OCT 23 1968

51 NOV-1 1968  
TELETYPED TO: [REDACTED]

PAGE TWO

SF 100-55520

UNIVERSITY, WASHINGTON, D.C., ON OCTOBER EIGHTEEN.

HE HAD PREVIOUSLY REQUESTED PERMISSION TO FILL SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT AT UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA, CHAPEL HILL, ON OCTOBER NINETEEN, HOWEVER, HAS INDICATED HE WILL RETURN TO SAN FRANCISCO THAT DATE AND WILL NOT FILL THIS ENGAGEMENT.

SUBJECT HAD ALSO PREVIOUSLY REQUESTED AND BEEN GRANTED PERMISSION TO SPEAK AT CAMBRIDGE ON OCTOBER TWENTY, HOWEVER, HAS INDICATED HE WILL NOT FULFILL THIS COMMITMENT.

INTERESTED OFFICES WILL ATTEMPT TO RECORD SUBJECT'S SPEECHES AND COVER SAME WITH PANEL SOURCES WHO WOULD BE AVAILABLE TO TESTIFY.

END.

SVM

FBI WASH DC\*

@

CC: [illegible]  
[illegible]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6294) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

(OO: SAN FRANCISCO)

Re Charlotte airtel to the Bureau dated 10/11/68;  
Bureau airtel to Charlotte dated 10/17/68, and San Francisco  
teletype to the Bureau dated 10/16/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are five copies  
of a LHM and two additional copies for San Francisco in  
captioned matter.

All information received by SA [REDACTED]

On 10/17/68, [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] UNC, Chapel Hill, N. C., advised arrangements  
had been made for a tape of the CLEAVER speech in the event  
CLEAVER did appear at Hill Hall 10/19/68, as scheduled.

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] The tape was to be  
made by the student radio station, WCHL, of the University.

San Francisco is requested to advise Charlotte  
if CLEAVER will keep his scheduled engagement at Duke  
University and N. C. College on 11/7-8/68, respectively.

b6  
b7C

- ③ - Bureau (Encls. 5) (RM)  
2 - San Francisco (Encls. 2)  
4 - Charlotte (2 - 157-6294) (CLEAVER)  
(1 - 157-5802) (BLACK STUDENT MOVEMENT)

CSM:cg  
(9)

b6  
b7C

C. C. - Bishop

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

54 NOV - 6 1968 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M

OCT 25 1968

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

CE 157-6294

LEAD:CHARLOTTEAT DURHAM, N. C.

Will make arrangements for coverage of CLEAVER'S  
appearance at Durham, N. C., should he fulfill these  
engagements.

-2-

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
Charlotte, North Carolina  
October 22, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

**LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER**  
**RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY**

The October 10, 1968, issue of the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, newspaper "Journal" contained an article reflecting ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, described as California Peace and Freedom Party candidate for President and minister of information for the Black Panthers, is to speak on October 19, 1968, at 8:00 p.m. at Hill Hall at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. The article further reflects on October 20, 1968, at 8:00 p.m., ERIC LINCOLN, described as author of a biography on the black separatist movement, was scheduled to speak at the Wesley Foundation, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

The Wednesday, October 9, 1968, issue of the "Daily Tar Heel," a student newspaper at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, confirmed the appearance of ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Black Panther minister of information and presidential nominee of the Peace and Freedom Party at a speech October 19, 1968, at 8:00 p.m., in Hill Hall provided the Black Student Movement could raise sufficient funds to co-sponsor him with the Carolina Forum. The article further reflected CLEAVER'S proposed lecture will be a feature of the "Black Violence - Impact on You," seminar organized by the YMCA Inter-racial Dialogue Committee. The Carolina Black Student Movement has announced tentative plans for the presence of another Black Panther representative during the entire week of this seminar.

The Thursday, October 17, 1968, issue of the "Daily Tar Heel" reflected PRESTON DOBBINS, President of the Black Student Movement, reported ELDRIDGE CLEAVER was definitely coming Saturday, October 19, 1968. DOBBINS said contributions were still badly needed because the money was necessary to pay court costs and to support the Peace and Freedom Party.

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER RECOMMENDATIONS NOR CONCLUSIONS OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE YOUR AGENCY.

100-447251-95  
ENCLOSURE



RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

The Sunday, October 20, 1968, issue of the "Daily Tar Heel" reflects ELDRIDGE CLEAVER had canceled his appearance scheduled for the University of North Carolina, on October 19, 1968.

On October 14, 1968, [redacted] Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, advised the Duke University Student Activities Committee had written CLEAVER inviting him to spend November 7, 1968, at Duke and then to speak at North Carolina College in Durham, North Carolina, on November 8, 1968.

b6  
b7C

The October 18, 1968, issue of the "Durham Morning Herald," a daily newspaper of Durham, North Carolina, reflected ELDRIDGE CLEAVER would deliver two major addresses in Durham, North Carolina, the first being at Duke University's Page Auditorium at 8:45 p.m., November 7, 1968, and the second the following day at North Carolina College.

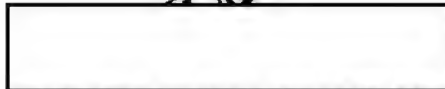
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

OCTOBER 20, 1968

REC-64 / 00-447251-96

air



Chicago, Illinois 60643

b6  
b7C

Dear

I have received your letter of October 19th and certainly share your concern. In view of your interest, I am enclosing some material which contains my views regarding those who foment violence.

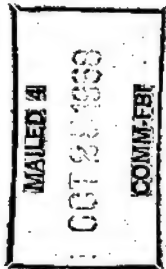
With respect to the prosecution of such an individual, this Bureau has furnished voluminous data on him to the Attorney General and you may wish to contact him.

Sincerely yours,  
J. Edgar Hoover

✓

*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten signature]*



Enclosure

Director's testimony before National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, 9-18-68.

NOTE: Bufiles disclose in 1943 one of American Casualty Company. He was assigned to the Chicago Office and was contacted to arrange bail bond for members of Al Capone gang. Cleaver, who is well known to the Bureau, is on the Security Index and Agitator Index of the San Francisco Office and is currently the subject of an anti-riot investigation. He is one of 8 individuals who have been charged in the April 6th gun battle with police and his trial is scheduled for 12-2-68. He is presently charged with 6 counts of assault. His state parole has been revoked and barring any legal delays, he is to be taken into custody as a state parole violator 11-27-68.

b6  
b7C

- Tolson \_\_\_\_\_
- DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_
- Mohr \_\_\_\_\_
- Bishop \_\_\_\_\_
- Casper \_\_\_\_\_
- Callahan \_\_\_\_\_
- Conrad \_\_\_\_\_
- Felt \_\_\_\_\_
- Gale \_\_\_\_\_
- Rosen \_\_\_\_\_
- Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_
- Tavel \_\_\_\_\_
- Trotter \_\_\_\_\_
- Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_
- Holmes \_\_\_\_\_
- Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

FMG:rlf

(3)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

55 NOV 5 - 1968

*[Handwritten initials]*

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DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL



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CHICAGO  
60643

10/19/68

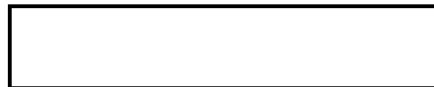
Edgar Hoover  
F. B. I.  
Washington, D. C

Dear Mr. Hoover -

This mornings Chicago Tribune gives report of address by Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver in Washington. He is running for President on the "Peace & Freedom" ticket and, if elected, his first act would be to burn down the White House.

He's speaking "burn America" and inciting riot everywhere he speaks. Doesn't current law declaring it a crime to cross state lines to incite riot & civil commotion authorize Federal Bureau to arrest & put him away?

Respectfully



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P. S

Am World War 1 Vet

EX 109

REC-64

100-447251-96

2 OCT 29 1968

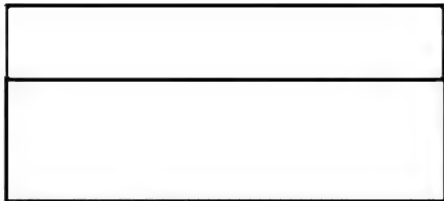
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1/19/68

Edgar Hoover  
F. B. I.

Washington, D.C.

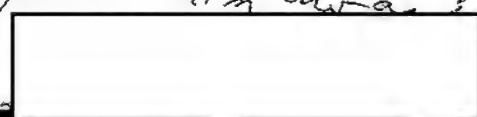
Dear Mr. Hoover-

This morning Chicago Tribune  
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connotation authorize Federal  
Bureau to arrest & put him away?

CORRESPONDENCE

Respectfully



ack 10-25-68  
JMB:wpf  
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FBI

Date: 10/18/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

(Priority)

b6  
b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (157-3385) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM-BPP  
(OO: SAN FRANCISCO)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/14/81 BY SP2 TSO/asp

Re San Francisco teletype to Director dated 10/2/68,  
captioned as above.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of letterhead  
memorandum dated and captioned as above. A copy of the let-  
terhead memorandum is being furnished to the following local  
agencies:

United States Attorney, Chicago  
United States Secret Service, Chicago  
Office of Special Investigation, Chicago  
Naval Investigation Service Office, Chicago  
Region 1, 113th MI Group, Evanston

The confidential source mentioned in letterhead  
memorandum is \_\_\_\_\_

Illinois. (Protect her request)

LEAD

CHICAGO

AT CHICAGO, ILLINOIS. Will cover 10/25/68, speaking  
engagement of subject and attempt to tape record this speech.

Bureau will be kept advised of pertinent details.

- ③ - Bureau (Encls. 11) (RM)  
2 - San Francisco (100-55520) (Encls. 2)  
3 - Chicago

(1 - 157-1291) (BPP) (Encls. 1)

(Encls. 1)

AGENCY: MOBILE, SEC. CHIEF...  
DATE: 10/24/68  
BY: RMH/1/1/68

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b7C  
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100-447551-97  
OCT 23 1968

EX-101

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Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

219 South Dearborn Street  
Chicago, Illinois 60604

October 18, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. CG 157-3385

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1/14/81 BY SP3  
JAS/afg

On October 2, 1968, [REDACTED]

State of California, San Francisco, California, advised that on this date, Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information, Black Panther Party (BPP), requested permission to travel to Chicago, Illinois, on October 24, 1968. The reason for the travel was not stated. Cleaver's request was granted.

On October 17, 1968, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of BPP has been invited to speak at Northwestern University at the Cahn Auditorium in Evanston, Illinois, on Friday night, 7:30 p.m., October 25, 1968. The Northwestern Student Senate is sponsoring Cleaver's appearance.

On October 18, 1968, the Chicago Sun-Times daily newspaper contained an item on page 16 entitled, "Northwestern To Hear Speech From Cleaver." The article announced the above mentioned speaking engagement of Cleaver. It continued;

"Cleaver, 33, holds the title of Minister of Information for the Black extremist group in California. He is the Presidential candidate of the Peace and Freedom Party.

"The most recent Cleaver controversy centered on whether he should be allowed to give lectures on racism in a credit course at the University of California, Berkeley. California Governor Ronald Reagan and others opposed the idea. But in a compromise worked out by University leaders, Cleaver was allowed to lecture October 8 with the understanding that no academic credit would be given for the course."

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

COPIES DESTROYED

343 MAY 3 1971

100-447251-97  
ENCLOSURE

A characterization of BPP is attached.

A copy of this memorandum is being furnished to the following agencies:

United States Attorney, Chicago  
United States Secret Service, Chicago  
Office of Special Investigation, Chicago  
Naval Investigation Service Office, Chicago  
Region I, 113th MI Group, Evanston



BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka  
Black Panther Party for  
Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality," to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

DATE: 9/25/68

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-1751)

SUBJECT: COUNTER INTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST HATE GROUP  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

LEROY ELDREDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Enclosed for the Bureau are five copies each of two television news editorials carried by KTLA-TV Los Angeles. Two copies each being furnished for San Francisco.

The enclosed transcripts entitled "Subsidizing Irresponsibility," and "Cleaver Tells It Like He Is," were presented by GEORGE PUTNAM, television news commentator for KTLA-TV, Channel 5, Los Angeles, California. The latter television editorial was presented on 9/11/68 and the former, twice on 9/12/68 and once on 9/13/68.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-30-88 BY SP4 BGL/m

#291742

ENCLOSURE

- 5 - Bureau (Enc. 10) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (Enc. 4.) (RM)
- 2 - Los Angeles
- (1 - 157-2323)

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

9 pages

## SUBSIDIZING IRRESPONSIBILITY

By George Putnam  
September 12, 1968

It is this reporter's opinion that at this moment in our history, when it appears to be open season on our police, the stabbing, shooting, or slaying of at least one policeman every day somewhere in the United States--that at this moment when so many of our public figures are eliminated by assassination--at this moment when the United States is being torn apart by riots in the streets--at this moment when revolutionaries, anarchists, Communists, and other troublemakers appear determined to destroy our way of life--at this moment when permissiveness is breeding a generation of young Americans who have thrown aside responsibility to family, community, law, order, this nation, and to themselves--that at this moment of hypocrisy and lawlessness and complete disregard for those values that made our nation great--it is simply unbelievable that at this moment, we appear determined to support and to subsidize with our hard earned tax dollars, rotten elements determined to bring this nation to its knees.

We've always said things are going to get a lot worse before they get better. And perhaps the latest pronouncement that Black Party official Eldridge Cleaver--admitted revolutionary--an ex-convict, now on probation, facing a charge of engaging in a shootout with police--has been appointed to lecture on the history of racism in America at the University of California's Berkeley campus.

The same Berkeley campus that has given us such gems as the filthy speech movement--Mario Savio--self admitted Communist Bettina Aptheker, violence and riots ad nauseum.

We could challenge Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver's teaching credentials--his absence of any credentials--his right to skim off some good American tax dollars, and all that. Such challenges should be obvious. Eldridge Cleaver is a Black Panther, and I don't mean a pussycat. He is a high ranking official in a paramilitary organization of young, militant racists.

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ENCLOSURE

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-30-88 BY SP1A GCM

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NEWSEK MAGAZINE, this week, quotes him as telling 175 attorneys gathered in San Francisco that they could best help the black movement by donating machine guns-- that the whole American capitalistic system and its institutions and police need to be assigned to the garbage can of history. He says there are people who are buying guns to kill judges and police and corporation lawyers, and that we need lawyers who have a law book in one hand and a gun in the other so that, as he puts it, "If you go to court and it doesn't come out right, you pull out your gun and start shooting."

He tells the lawyers if he could get two machine guns out of their gathering, he wouldn't care if they applauded him or not.

One of the lawyers asks Cleaver, "What can we whites do to help the black man's cause?" To which Cleaver responds, "Kill some white people."

This same Eldridge Cleaver--high official of the Black Panthers--is also the Peace and Freedom Party candidate for President of the United States. People like Eldridge Cleaver are the enemy of every decent black and white American, because they mean to physically destroy us and our way of life. And yet, the University of California at Berkeley announces that Eldridge Cleaver will lecture on the University of California campus.

And you and I and the rest of the overburdened taxpayers are going to be forced to pay for his brand of subversion of our way of life.

If this ex-convict, who is now on probation--this member of the militant Black Panthers, is allowed to teach students on our tax supported University of California campus, then there is nothing to prevent leaders of the American Nazi Party, leaders of the Ku Klux Klan, leaders of the other paramilitary organizations, recognized Communists, and other hate mongers--to be brought to our campuses and to conduct lectures on such diversified subjects as, for instance--

How to construct and use crematoriums and gas chambers--

How to turn humans into soap--

How to make lampshades out of human skin--

How to torture and make zombies out of human beings--

How to lynch those with whom we disagree--

How to conduct a mass genocide by starving millions to death--

And how to destroy the will to survive of every American.

Yes, and while we're at it, why not bring Mao Tse Tung, Fidel Castro, Kim Il Sung, and Ho Chi Minh right to the University of California campus at Berkeley tactics with which to destroy us.

I say no! The time has come to call an absolute halt to all this damned nonsense. My friend, there is one language the University of California at Berkeley and its left wingers, bleeding hearts, and pseudo-liberals and intellectuals understand. We still hold the purse strings, and it's time that you and I and every every American demand that all moneys assigned to the University of California be immediately cut off--shut off until this issue is resolved to the satisfaction of every decent American taxpayer.

It is this reporter's opinion that every one of us should now contact by telephone, telegram, letter, postcard, or personally--the President of the University of California at Berkeley.

Governor Ronald Reagan at the State Capitol, Sacramento.

The Board of Regents and the Chairman of the Board of Regents at the University of California at Berkeley.

I repeat--contact Governor Reagan at Sacramento, the President of the University of California at Berkeley, and the Chairman and the Board of Regents, University of California at Berkeley.

Don't ask "What can I do?" Do it!

Five and ten p.m. news reports, KTLA, Channel Five

Repeated 9/13/68

GEORGE 9/13/68 10 P.M.

CLEAVER'S SIDE

(FOLLOW MIDSHOT)

TODAY, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER GIVES HIS SIDE OF THE

CONTROVERSY SURROUNDING HIS APPOINTMENT AS A  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-30-2005 BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL OF CALIFORNIA AT BERKELEY

CLEAVER SAYS HE CAN FORESEE CAMPUS DISORDERS SHOULD

THE REGENTS BAR HIM FROM LECTURING--THAT IF IT

WOULD BE AN INDICATION THAT EDUCATION NO LONGER

EXISTED AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, THAT

FREEDOM OF SPEECH NO LONGER EXISTED THERE.

YESTERDAY, STATE SUPERINTENDENT OF PUBLIC

INSTRUCTION MAX RAFFERTY CLAIMED CLEAVER WAS NO

MORE QUALIFIED TO BE A UNIVERSITY LECTURER THAN

RAFFERTY TO BE HEAD SURGEON AT THE MAYO CLINIC.

SAYS CLEAVER, "IT WOULD BE A QUESTION OF

ACADEMIC FREEDOM AND I THINK IF THE STUDENTS WOULD

NOT STAND FOR THIS."

CLEAVER THINKS THAT PROFESSORS AT BERKELEY WOULD

UNITE WITH THE STUDENTS CONCERNING THE PHILOSOPHY



OF THE MILITANT BLACK PANTHERS. CLEAVER DENIES

THE BLACK PANTHERS ARE A TERRORIST GROUP.

SAYS CLEAVER, "WE ONLY BRUTALIZE THOSE WHO  
BRUTALIZE US."

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, SIX FEET ONE, 180 POUNDS, WAS  
BORN IN ARKANSAS IN 1935, BUT WAS RAISED IN  
SOUTH LOS ANGELES.

HE WAS FIRST ARRESTED IN 1950. HE HAS BEEN

ARRESTED EIGHT TIMES SINCE JANUARY OF THIS YEAR

AND HAS A TOTAL OF 20 ARRESTS ON HIS RECORD.

OUT OF THE LAST 19 YEARS, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER HAS

SPENT 14 YEARS IN PRISON. HE HAS NARCOTICS,

BURGLARY, ASSAULT, RAPS, AND ASSAULT TO COMMIT

MURDER CHARGES ON HIS RECORD.

## CLEAVER TELLS IT LIKE HE IS

By George Putnam  
September 11, 1968

There is a serious and great question in this reporter's mind whether a newsman should ignore such militant organizations as the Black Panthers--give them no publicity whatsoever--or whether it is the newsman's responsibility to bring to public attention what this paramilitary organization of military racists has in store for the United States of America. It is this reporter's opinion the latter course must--in all good conscience and responsibility--be followed.

NEWSEK MAGAZINE, in its September sixteenth issue, offers a word from the Peace and Freedom candidate, ex-convict Eldridge Cleaver, who is the Presidential nominee of the Peace and Freedom Party--and the Black Panthers' Minister of Information.

Last week, Eldridge Cleaver stood before a group of 175 attorneys, all under the age of thirty-six, in a San Francisco dining room--and he told it like he is. Standing there, dressed in black and wearing a tiny pearl earring in his left ear, he told the barristers' club they could best help the black movement by donating machine guns.

It is this reporter's opinion that it is important that all of us listen and understand what this ex-con has to say. "America is up against the wall," says Cleaver. "This whole apparatus--this capitalistic system and its institutions and police--all need to be assigned to the garbage can of history, and I don't give a--blank--who doesn't like it. If we can't have it, nobody's going to have it," says Cleaver. "We'd rather provoke a situation that will disrupt cities and the economy so the enemies of America could come in and pick the gold from the teeth of these Babylonian pigs." This an obvious reference to police officers to whom he always, as the Panthers do, refer as pigs.

At that point, Cleaver shouts at his audience--"Up against the wall, you mother--blanks--! I could go into the White

157-1571  
ENCLOSURE

100-447251

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-30-88 BY SP1A G66m

#291742

House and come out--blank--rich. But I'm too young, so I have to say--blank--the White House--blank--the electroal system--blank--all the pigs--and--blank--the power structure." Now naturally, he didn't say "blank"--he used another verb.

And Cleaver continues his tirade. "You're all chasing dollars, but there are other people who are chasing dollars to buy guns to kill judges and police and corporation lawyers. We need lawyers who have a law book in one hand and a gun in the other, so if he goes to court and that--blank--doesn't come out right, he can pull out his gun and start shooting."

And then Cleaver continued, "If I could get two machine guns out of this crowd, I wouldn't care if you applauded me or threw glasses at me, and then I'd get my black--blank--out of here."

And then, lest anyone mistake his full meaning, Cleaver concluded with these remarks, "I meant all my insults to those who won't choose my side--the right side. You people can take your wallets, credit cards, and cut your mother--blank--neck. You people on the other side, I love you. I hope you'll take your guns and shoot judges and police."

Then Cleaver--ex-convict, Black Panther Minister of Information, and Presidential nominee of the Peace and Freedom Party, gets a polite ovation, if you please, from the 175 lawyers--all under age thirty-six. One of the lawyers asks--"What can we whites do to help the black man's cause?"

Cleaver responds--"Kill some white people."

At that point, the meeting ends, and as the crowd moves toward the elevators, one young lawyer--pink cheeked--turns to a companion and remarks, "Say, his speech certainly reflects the growing polarization between the races, doesn't it?"

This same Eldridge Cleaver, the Peace and Freedom Party candidate, states in his most recent directive, "The Black Panther Party is organizing and arming black people across this country."

At another point he states, "We are very concerned with the development of a strong, radical movement in the white community." And again he states, "We have formed a working coalition with the Peace and Freedom Party in California and a number of other states."

Eldridge Cleaver and the Black Panther Party are busy on many fronts. This revolutionary group has the support of the Free Huey movement--the Afro-American Student Union--the Black Student Union--Honkies for Huey--The Young Socialist Alliance--the Socialist Workers' Party--the Independent Socialist Club--the Students for a Democratic Society--the Progressive Labor Party--and numerous anti-draft and anti-war groups.

But perhaps the most productive affiliation for the Black Panthers have been their merger with SNCC--their coalition with the Peace and Freedom Party--and the recent declaration of the Communist Party of the United States that it supports Huey Newton.

As I said at the outset, the people have a right to know what the Black Panther Party has in store for them. But what a strange spectacle it is to witness 175 American attorneys--officers of the court--crowded into a San Francisco dining room to hear an ex-convict as he rants and rages and insults them--tells them how he plans to destroy them and every other white man--and then give this revolutionary a very polite ovation!

And when one of them asks what whites can do to help the black man's cause, this man of "peace and freedom" responds, "Kill some white people." And those 175 attorneys--officers of the court--give this revolutionary a very polite ovation--after hearing this plan for their own execution!

Five and ten p.m. news reports, KTLA, Channel Five



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The detailed statements of CLEAVER quoted at length in this letterhead memorandum were furnished via tape recording by [redacted] on 10/5/68 and were transcribed by SA [redacted]. Transcription is quoted as given without paragraphing or changing the grammar.

This letterhead memorandum is classified "Confidential" to protect [redacted] through [redacted] who are informants of continuing value to the Bureau and whose disclosure would be inimical to the best interest of the United States.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Diego, California

October 23, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

979602

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL  
ON 11-30-2005

LEROY ELDREDGE CLEAVER

ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) BY EAC  
DATE 11-2-78

Copies of this Letterhead Memorandum are being disseminated locally at San Diego, California, to the Naval Investigative Services Office, Office of Special Investigations, 115th Military Intelligence Group, Secret Service, and the local U.S. Attorney. Local law enforcement agencies were informed regarding the contents of this memorandum.

A characterization of the Black Panther Party (BPP) is appended hereto.

On the night of Friday, October 4, 1968, LEROY ELDREDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information of the BPP, and presidential candidate on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket, was the guest speaker at the University of California at San Diego (UCSD), La Jolla, California.

In extemporaneous remarks loaded with four-letter words and other profanities and obscenities, CLEAVER hit viciously at Governor REAGAN, State School Superintendent MAX RAFFERTY, presidential candidates HUBERT HUMPHREY, RICHARD NIXON, and GEORGE WALLACE, police departments, and the University of California's Board of Regents. CLEAVER forecast a "Boston Tea Party," which he said probably will start in the black community, stating "We're going to take over the world." Discussing his predicted revolution, CLEAVER said, "it has to come because the capitalistic system no longer serves the needs of this country."

CLEAVER's appearance was held at the UCSD Gym which had space for only approximately 2,500 persons,

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EXEMPT FROM GDS CATEGORY 2  
DATE OF DECLASSIFICATION INDEFINITE

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GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

100-447251-98  
FBI/DOJ



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

including standing room, but another estimated 1,500 students listened outside by way of the public address system. Most of those in attendance were young people and students. There were no disturbances or arrests.

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[ ] reported that, at one point, as CLEAVER arrived at the gym, WILLIAM AYERS, Republican candidate from the 77th District for the California State Assembly, moved toward CLEAVER as if to prevent CLEAVER from entering the gym, but stopped when a campus policeman placed a hand on his shoulder.

About thirty youths representing the California Young Americans for Freedom, an anti-Communist organization with headquarters in Glendale, California, quietly and peacefully picketed outside the gym during CLEAVER's appearance.

During his speech, a large section of the audience reportedly applauded repeatedly and, at one time, even joined, with CLEAVER acting as cheerleader, in an obscene chant vilifying Governor REAGAN.

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(U)

~~C~~ [ ] October 7, 1968)  
October 8, 1968)  
October 9, 1968)

Further details concerning the full text of CLEAVER's speech, as furnished by [ ] appears later in this memorandum.

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER was scheduled to speak at the Memorial Recreation Center, 29th and Marcy, San Diego, at 2:00 p.m., on October 5, 1968. At about 3:00 p.m. on this date (Saturday), CLEAVER arrived in an automobile accompanied by three other men and two women, followed by four other automobiles containing individuals believed to be Black Panthers. At first, the whites were not allowed at the meeting, but after all the blacks were inside, [ ] San Diego Black Panther leader, went out and told white newsmen to come in. About 200 people were present at this gathering.

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LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

In his speech on this date, CLEAVER told the blacks to arm themselves and not to back down from "whitey" or the "pig police." He said that the blacks were going to take over the world and are ready to block the United States of America at every corner. He threatened that if Governor REAGAN "mess with him, he'd kill him." He said that servicemen in Vietnam were giving firearms to the Black Panthers.

GEORGE STEVENS, local San Diego Negro leader, at the beginning of CLEAVER's appearance on Saturday, got up to say a few words and told the people assembled there "you black niggers get up and bow to this man. Bow to Mr. Cleaver." They all got up and bowed. According to source, CLEAVER seemed to appeal to the youths in the gathering but many of the adult Negroes in attendance appeared displeased with him. Some adults left during his speech and, after the speech, were heard to remark that they thought he was crazy.

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(U)

October 8, 1968  
October 7, 1968

On the night of October 5, 1968, a cocktail party and buffet dinner was held for CLEAVER by the BPP advocates at the home of [redacted] San Diego, California. Attendance was by invitation only and a \$5.00 donation was asked of the guests attending.

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[redacted] reportedly did not sponsor the reception but merely offered her home to the Black Panthers as a place to hold it. [redacted] for years, has been involved socially with various so-called liberal or Leftist groups in the San Diego area.

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b7D

October 8, 1968  
October 7, 1968

CLEAVER arrived at the cocktail party with his bodyguards at about 8:15 p.m. He sold and autographed copies of his book, "Soul on Ice." On one occasion, a

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

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*conf*  
Young student approached him and asked how he, the student, could help. CLEAVER answered, "There are armories in the area, aren't there?" CLEAVER said that now that the student assembly halls were closed to him, he would have to find another way to reach the students. He said that millions of people needed to be contacted, funds raised, and an united effort made by all those who believe in a governmental change. CLEAVER said that he had no intention of going to jail. At one time during the party, after [redacted] had asked CLEAVER for a few remarks to the people present, CLEAVER insisted on the people joining him in a few choruses of "-----(obscene) REAGAN, -----(obscene) RAFFERTY." He offered a challenge to duel with REAGAN. During the evening, the butt of a revolver was observed carelessly protruding from CLEAVER's right side pants pocket. CLEAVER stayed at the party until 4:30 a.m. (U)

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*conf*  
[redacted] October 7, 1968)

*conf*  
[redacted] advised on October 5, 1968, that Professor GABRIEL JACKSON, Chairman of the Academic Freedom Committee (AFC) was moderator for the speech of ELDRIDGE CLEAVER at UCSD during the eveing of October 4, 1968. The appearance was sponsored by the Tuesday the Ninth Committee (TCN).

The TCN was formed after MARTIN LUTHER KING was killed, and the name reflects the day of the week and the date of his burial. The committee is becoming increasingly involved in the racial situation in San Diego.

*conf*  
MIKE HAYNE introduced CLEAVER and thanked the Campus Radio Station for providing the public address system, the AFC for financial help, and the faculty administration for their cooperation in setting up the speech. He thanked the Brown Berets and the Black Panther Party for policing the meeting.

The Brown Berets are a Mexican-American racial group in Southern California.

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LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Persons attending the CLEAVER speech were invited to attend a TNC meeting on the following Sunday night in Room 2722, the Undergraduate Science Building, on the campus.

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On October 5, 1968, [ ] furnished the following specific statements made by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER on October 4, 1968, at the University of California at San Diego, La Jolla, California:

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"I want to thank Mickey Mouse Reagan and Donald Duck Rafferty for making this possible. (applause) About a month ago, a couple of months ago, a few students from the University of California, Berkeley, called me up on the telephone and told me that they were thinking about organizing a course and they thought I might be interested to participate in it and they asked me if I would come down and talk to them further about it and it was very exciting to me and I said yes I would do that and I went down and met with members of the faculty and students to talk about that. We had several meetings and finally decided that there was enough information there, valid information, to deal with to constitute a course. At the time, I hadn't the slightest idea about it. Ie'm see how far we can fill up the picture. There were people who were so hard up for votes, so hard up for \_\_\_\_\_ that they could \_\_\_\_\_ the public cause they didn't even want the responsibility of this you know. That being the \_\_\_\_\_ society got it in motion, a lot of hysteria, and they could talk me into making profound statements pretending to be the savior of the people once again. So that \_\_\_\_\_. I was astounded, at first, when I heard the Governor, the great Governor, of the state of California wasting his time commenting on my meager activities, because there was a time when I wanted that whelp to say something and he remained silent. When they had me in the penitentiary, I wrote him a long letter saying the pitch wasn't true and asking him to investigate, and I never heard a mumbling word from Ronald Reagan. So, as far as I'm concerned, Ronald Reagan baby f--- you. (crowd applauds) You see it's one thing for us to give Mickey Mouse a polite applause after sitting through, or suffering through, one of his Grade B movies, but it's another thing altogether when he insinuate himself into our lives and tells us we can't think this and we can't think this and we can't say this and we can't say that. And he is not qualified to make those kind of judgments. The only thing he is qualified to do is to regurgitate the script that is placed before him by his script writers. That's all. (applause) That's his bag, he has a Colgate smile. And I believe that if you would take those scripts away from him

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and place him in front of a microphone, the only sound that would emanate from him would be a series of effeminate oinks. That's all. (applause) But that hasn't come up yet. We were talking about doin' this course. You see these students who belong to the searchers for a participant education will be allowed to make mad pies out of courses, you know, for those plays \_\_\_\_\_ pretty, that's what it's supposed to be. You are not supposed to do anything serious, you're not supposed to consider anything relevant. You're supposed to organize a course of Yogi or what? Sitting on telephone poles or shooting at the telephone booth or, I don't know? Eating goldfish? Is that what you used to do? I used to read about that. Some of the students were getting a thousand in one phone booth, I never believed it but they still insisted on how they used to do that. But it was absurd, it wasn't worthy of human energy, a pastime of \_\_\_\_\_ free college. But these students read the message in their situation because they saw that they were sitting on a death row. That the entire world was a death row, a time bomb ticking away and that there was mad men, mad men, fighting with each other to get their finger on the nuclear trigger and then there were young people trying to deal with that. So they went to organizing experimental court, especially they want to organize experimental court and that the problems then, I understood, that they considered the past ways that history has been written, the goals, the sources, the officials for decades is not responsible for them today they want to make a clear break with that, they know better how to do that, some of these old bald headed professors, the conservative cells, who want to sit there and not sustain the other faculty members or the students when they express their just grievances. They know what they are doing. I have seen that they know what they are doing, because when I talk to them they make sense to me - when I talk to some of these old hypocritical equivocators, I can't begin to understand what they are talking about and they don't act like they know what they are talking about. The results of all of their work, the control of this world, definitely indicates to me that they don't have the slightest idea either of what they are talking about or what they are doing. They don't know what they are doing. Oink, Oink

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Rafferty with his Ph.D. in Physical Education. (loud applause) He doesn't know anything about it. He'd have made a good referee or a good coach on the football team or something, but he can't come in here and tell people how to instruct or report or what to talk about or what's relevant or what's not relevant. How can the irrelevant comment on the relevant? I don't understand that. So for Donald Duck I have to say f--- you Max Rafferty, f--- you. (applause) A very important thing, because of the revolution that's going on in the black community and, of course, by the cultural revolution that's going on in the white community, I notice there are a lot of white people who appear, who are around, I see them. They are not related to any cultural revolution or any other revolution, they're related to the star spangled banner, stars and stripes forever, and we got hydrogen bombs, intercontinental ballistic missiles, guns and organized force to back it up and we don't care what the world thinks. Us Yankess alone, against the entire world, we can still maintain our gains and later for the people let the devil take the hindmost. You see this attitude of a lot of people shocks me and it hurts me when I see the young people, I hoped would escape, all the tragedy of their heritage, but it's still being transmitted, still being transmitted, and it has to be destroyed. It has to be stopped, because it's non functional. It's not going to be able to make it. From now on, in the 21st century, but from now on, 1968, nobody in the world is going for that s--- anymore. And these students at Berkeley, they realize that and they want their course basic. They have the values that's involved and they don't want to relate to that. So they want to figure out some way of understanding, getting some information on racism, looking at all relative spectors, different points of view. To see if they can have an addition made to what they already know. I think that any man just can't say when he looks onto the last round if he's seeking information. Because information is the raw material for new ideas and if there's anything that he hears drop it out and say it's a new idea because if it's his to be got it won't work. It ain't goin' work. (applause) If you want to know how it's gonna work, when

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you see a better way of separating lightweight talk like George Wallace, Governor for Alabama running around the nation talking about how we going to solve the Negro problem. Yeh, he best go solve the Negro problem. We don't have no Negro problem no more. We got a wider problem. We got a pig problem. The pigs of the power structure are a big problem, and we know that and how long will it take us to recognize how to hold the barbecue? Because there is either going to be an end, there's either going to be an end, a dismantling of the machinery of oppression or ther's going to be a barbecue in Babylon. It has to be. Because not only don't we want to go for anymore eagles, we don't have to. We know the economics of this system. We know that their spunky, raggedy, broken down, decrepit, corrupt, anarchistic, capitalistic system cannot last next summer because the entire world is rising up against them, the people here within the system are forced to rise up against them and we're rising. So I'm going to get into that. We're going to get into that and we're going to disbowel this economic system, because you stop to think about the three categories of pigs of the power structure. Three categories of the oppressors. First, backing the others up, you have the anarchistic business man. The capitalistic blood suckers, leeches, parasites. Might be your mother or your father. (laughter and applause) And that's not your fault because you didn't order your mother or your father. They ordered you. So that's nothing to get up tight about. And after the business man, we have the hypocritical demigodic politician. And then we have the Gestapo local police. The local police, of whom I know there are many heret tonight, because when I came outside tonight I heard so many oinks that I started to get to get out of this pig pen. But there's some deterrent, I'm a taxpayer, believe it or not. And I have paid their salary and I'm not going to tolerate anyone whose salary I pay coming up to face oinking in my face or telling me what to do. I'm going to tell him what to do. I can't do that by myself. But you McCarthyites, out there. You Kennedyites out there. You can't do it by yourself either. You couldn't do it in Chicago. The pig mayor Daley turned the dogs loose on you, with their Mace

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and with those sticks and clubs and with those guns and they beat all the fat off your heads and had they gotten your hair those \_\_\_\_\_ right now. Because that was most b-----g. You know with the Rampart Magazine, they had some people back there taking pictures of the crimes perpetrated on the people by the pigs, and I saw one shot. There was a young girl, a young white girl, a blonde-haired girl, I guess she had two eyes but she had her head down, I don't know. And this pig looked like he was creaming for a home run at her head. And this has to be, has to be given some type of fundamental analysis because it's unusual. I mean, if that had been a nigger there, it wouldn't have been nothin'. It wouldn't even have been in newspapers. Because it's been open season on niggers here for 400 years.

Ain't it? And we know that. We all know that. But when the man starts puttin' that heavy wood up against the head of, now wait a minute, this was one of the hippies, but the description. Those who express honest opinions against the world. If we start doin' that you know that the alienation \_\_\_\_\_ deep, deep. And we also recognize this, and this is where the danger lies for everybody here, that once the police force you to drop your country, you no longer talk about the military industrial complex. You have to talk about the police, military, industrial, complex, because the police have put down on us a caste consciousness. Not a class consciousness, but a caste. And the least militaristic class, caste as we said, organized, the most highly organized group in the country. There is no other group in the country as well organized as your local police. And your local police are not just local police, they are national and international. You have heard of the International Association of Chiefs of Police. They have \_\_\_\_\_ yority, they have \_\_\_\_\_, they have a lobby, and they have unlimited funds because they can ride you legally through LBJ's fund raising scheme that they call taxation. They have developed a caste consciousness. They're motivated by the same things that the state soldiers, the heroes of the subject, are motivated by, honor, \_\_\_\_\_, defending of the borders against the invasion of the barbaric horde.

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Niggers from the ghetto of your cities. They've got that, they've got that spirit but they don't have their sympathy. People don't respond to them even the way they respond to a soldier who comes back from war. People look upon them with contempt. People are afraid of them. A person could be lost, be lost in the city, and will not go up to a cop and asked him for directions although you could be fairly certain that, unless he is a drunken Oakland cop, he knows them. He knows. But people get up tight whether bad or not. And these are public servants. These are public servants. And this just indicates how arrogant, how contemptuous of the people, these public servant cats are. Because Ronald Reagan got to thinking he owns the State of California. That he owns the people of the State of California. And the pigs, the local police, consider your community to be their turf. That's their turf and what are you doin' out here on it. Get off the street. You understand the curfew. We don't work for you. Later for that. Go inside. We goin' have law and order out here. We goin' have laws out here and the laws is goin' be in order and the law is out of order when it starts telling the people what to do on their level. And the law is out of order in this country, whether you like it or not. Whether you want to face it or not. Look at the incidents, pick up the newspaper, you pick up yesterday's San Francisco Chronicle, from the front page to the sports section, you will find multiple incidents of crimes perpetrated against the people by cops. Cops shooting people, cops sticking knives in people, cops doin' everything to people, biting people, mugging people, spitting. It's cops, cops running amuck. Pigs running amuck. And any time you want me to prosecute a paradox, in San Francisco the other day, this cop has been goin' out there wanting to kill a nigger. He just had to kill a nigger, and he wasn't going to be able to rest until he killed a nigger. So he cornered a brother on the avenue and do him away in front of witnesses. And the people's police paid him, a racist pig, a buffoon, a gangster, that's what he is, a gangster, because he is not a guardian of the law. He is a perverter and a corrupter of all lasting respect for

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respect for the law. Because nobody can respect the law administrated by a pig Cahill, especially when he comes out in the clear and endorses this character, against all the admissions from the eye witnesses. He tells this guy he can go back to work until another cop completely gave up information and they had to suspend the pig. And so Cahill suspended him regretfully. And then they gave him a medal. They gave him a medal, for having used his gun valiantly in another connection. I'm giving you these instances, as when the two members of the Oakland Police Department drove by the Black Panther Party Headquarters one night, drunk. They said they were drunk. Let's see if we can find out if they were drunk. I don't know. That's a good excuse there in old America. Alcohol \_\_\_\_\_. If they had a said he was high, I would have knew they was lying. (loud long applause) He may have been drunk. He may have been drunk, but the fact is this. There was, you see, four cars of cops. Two in each car. And one of the cars was the black and white marked police car and some citizen got the number of the car and that is how they identified, and the others couldn't be identified, so Chief Cain of the Oakland Police Department said that there were only those bad apples in this whole barrel of fruit. And he implored the people not to condemn the others, even though we know that there was at least eight of them. We know that, and he knows that, but because they couldn't identify them, they don't exist. And two hundred of them when they heard that there was going to be disciplinary action taken against those two, threatened not to come to work the next day on a strike in sympathy with their agrieved brothers. So this is the type of situation that we have on that level. Cops who will go into the courthouse and attack people on the way to court. Cops that will beat up young people who come out and say we don't like the war. Cops who will beat up the politicians that were followers, and saying, they were supporting Gene McCarthy. Just cops who are out of order. In the hire of mercenary pool of these businessmen, and directed and corrected by aboridgious, corrupt, demigodic politicians. For those

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are pigs, power structure generations we have to deal with and we could add the regents there if you want to. Because the regents, the Board of Regents, have become, or it always has been, but it has manifested itself to be an instrument of oppression on the campuses. Everybody says that. Is that true or not? Are you neutral on that? Are you neutral? You see you can't be neutral, there's no more neutrality in the world. It either has to be, (applause begins) wait a minute, you either have to be a part of the solution or you will be part of the problem. There ain't no middle ground. (applause) If some homegrown Adolph Eichman is doin' his duty on me. Bein' me in. And you're standing there and you can't make up your mind which one of us to help. You are definitely a part of the problem as far as I am concerned. So people are goin' to have to learn how to let everybody know where they are at, because the entire world, the entire world, is now standing toe to toe with the enemy. And the enemy of mankind. The number one obstacle is the phase of human progress that could be revealed as racist, secularist, Babylon. Our home, sweet home on the shooting range. Our home, sweet home on the shooting range. See. Now we can relate that in various ways. You can make yours too good? You have a free will. You can set data forth. Data for the niggers right from George Wallace speech. You can say that. Or you can say, Mr. Nixon save us. Or meathead Humphrey eat us, or whatever. But look at what's happening. Did anybody come around to you and consult you about your opinion on this whole status that George Wallace was now the choice for President? Nobody ever asked you that. Did they ask you that? They spit that s--- out of their heads into their propaganda channels and throw it out and then the American people with the IBM cards say he is right on George's ---. That's all bulls---. And Richard Nixon says he is right. Because what he does is \_\_\_\_\_ scene. He'll write it himself. And that makes him end up being a middle of the roader. Hubert Humphrey is on the left. How many angles can dance on the head of a needle? How many pigs can dance on the head of a needle? Or is the saying supposed to stop at the same time. Because all I hear them saying every time I hear them talk is oink, oink, oink. That's all I hear them

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saying -- the bonehead Nixon, the Gestapo way Wallace to that meathead Humphrey. They've got something up for us today. They've made the beautiful project, the gallows for us today. Our grievances cannot be answered with all the challenge in the world. So that what they are forcing the people to threaten to do. Including the students of the Berkeley campus and possibly down here. Not that you've had any of this bulls--- at \_\_\_ that. You might do it if they don't push you. Another Boston Tea Party. A National Boston Tea Party. An International Boston Tea Party. After which, the pigs of the power structure because the oppressor has no right to push the oppressed - the bounds of respect. They deplore it. We don't have to go for that. For you might not deplore it. We don't have to go for that. For you might not be very far from the tea party down here in, ah, La Jolla. Down here, south of the border, where the living is easy and the pigs are gettin' greasy. And will get you. OK? So that the Boston Tea Party is going to start. Probably, probably in the black community. They said the black community was gonna explode cause it's a long hot summer and they put Berkeley under curfew. And they put Berkeley under curfew because they also had designs, but goin' on right now, but these young people are not amenable to their control anymore. They come home with an album and they play a record that has the battle of the pinhead in there, Bobby Gillis talking about Mr. Jones. Saying there is something happening and you don't know what it is, do you Mr. Jones? And all that. Mr. Jones can say is Well I got all a them F. Scott Fitzgerald books. That's where he is at. That's where he is at. And that's why we can't deal with him. That's way we are going to have to take over the world. I'm 33 years old. I went to the penitentiary when I was 23 years old. \_\_\_ I could not relate. You can't relate to \_\_\_ so you tell em that. You don't want to be embarrassed in front of them. But I'm goin' to see if you will say something that they might not like you to say right now. I wrote a little song today down at Los Angeles at UCLA. It's titled f--- Ronald Reagan. (laughter and applause) And I think this is

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something that \_\_\_\_\_ the nature of the times that will be very good for the uplift of the community spirits. So we have, you know, repeated three times, three times is expected. I want you to repeat it nine times. We will, if you can, tolerate the profanity that long. And we want to give it in a refrain \_\_\_\_\_ second choruses. Can we do that? One, two, three, four, wait a minute, one, two, three, four. (crowd and Cleaver in unison) f--- Ronald Reagan, f--- Ronald Reagan, f--- Ronald Reagan, f--- Ronald Reagan, f--- Ronald Reagan, (crowd only in unison) f--- Ronald Reagan, f--- Ronald Reagan, f--- Ronald Reagan, f--- Ronald Reagan, f--- Ronald Reagan. (applause by the crowd) You don't want to talk about this now because he might hear about this. And he's a dirty cat because he would start cussin' back, see. He's not too cool see. Cool, clean, little, bad, Ronnie cursing out these children. What is this Governor comin' to? It's OK for us to cuss him because we are not governors and we have the right because he is our governor. He is our Herod. He's our Pontious Pilate. He's our Adolf Hitler. Our local Hitler. We got them on every level. But he is our local Hitler. So we have a right to talk about that motherf----- cause he's downin' all of us. I reiterate, I challenge Ronald Reagan to a duel. (loud, long applause by audience) I say he is a punk, a p---y, and a coward and he can choose his own weapons, anything from a baseball bat at night, a gun or a shotgun, or I'll beat him with a garden hose. (laughter and applause) You see, I have to talk about that because Ronald Reagan is chicken, cause he don't play fair see. He has accepted the duel. He has accepted it, but he sniping at me from behind cover. He's movin' through the Regents. He is movin' through the California \_\_\_\_\_ prison system. You know he is the chief executive of the state. As such, he is the head of the government agencies. The Governor, he is the head of the parole department. He is the head of the prison system. And those old, old friends of mine, my probationers, are spending time to find some way of taking me back to the penitentiary. So now he's got something going for himself. But it's goin' to end, cause I'm not goin'. You see I'm not goin'. I'm not goin' (applause) When a man goes out

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to commit a crime he knows what the consequence is. So that he is prepared to face that consequence obviously or he wouldn't go. They got some prisoners in the penitentiary who get caught when they never did do it, you know, but they do hard time and \_\_\_\_\_ you know. Then there guys up to something they're going to make us. They ain't goin' to give no bad guys something. You get sick in there they report you. You get some aspirins. They tell you walk slowly and drink plenty of water. Aspirin for cancer. Oh, I went in there. I stayed there. I went there on a field trip for youth. That was a field trip, experimentation, analogies. I got you some information. Listen, I stayed there for a long time. I was in every part of the penitentiary. Every part of that prison. Everything from the hospital to the solitary confinement cells, and I don't like it. I don't want no more part of it. That's why I don't go around committing crimes anymore. That's what they told me they didn't want me to do anymore. Straighten up your hands Eldridge, and fly right. So I straightened up my hands and I started flying and they said that wasn't right. (loud applause) I don't like the way they fly neither cause they look like bald-headed buzzard to me in the sky. They look like bald-headed buzzards picking the meat from the bones of the people just as \_\_\_\_\_ and I'm not goin' to mention that but Ronald Reagan is the head of the Department of Corrections. And no one can tell me that he has a chance but he would rather appoint me about my case so I say that Ronald Reagan is behind this move to rip me out and put me back in the penitentiary. Whether or not he is, I'm not goin'. Let them take George Wallace, Richard Nixon, Hubert Humphrey, Max Rafferty, and his mama and to there himself, but I'm not going. (applause) And I am telling you this now, because I'm sure that you will know about it later. And I wonder what it is that you will know. And how you will relate to it. And whether or not you will feel that it has anything to do with you, your situation, and your life. Because it does. Because here we have to state, we have controls to put on American history. We

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have controls to put on every date of American history up until this moment. Because it is all mixed in blood and corruption and inhumanities and there are no guidelines to guide us in the future. Not the way these pigs have written those books, that is. The incidents are there. The history is there. But it's not the wish of the people, it's history of the pigs, for the pigs, and by the pigs. And it's not going to serve us as a guide and that's why those students of the University of California find it necessary to go out and seek other versions to add to the books that have been heaped upon them already. Cause they don't find that other s--- fulfilling. Because they have seen that it is part of the design for the past. As far as George Washington and the cherry tree, Abraham Lincoln and the slaves, Thomas Jefferson and his slaves, you know, Thomas Jefferson and his slaves, blew his gain, heroes. Can't old Thomas Jefferson talk to me about it? He was getting into something but he was also into something else. We think good things about some of the things, parts of some of the things he wrote, you have to relate that to the hypocrisy of the position he was in when he wrote it. So that's the situation with the history of this country, and the young white people. I'm talking to the young white people now. I wonder just how you feel. Do you relate to your heroes of the past, or are they villains to you now, or where is that at? You still don't know, haven't made up your minds. Are you clinging to your dead heroes? (chorus of nos) That's right and there's nothing to be afraid of about that, because you are going to be the generation that creates new heroes for the future generation. That's where we stand. (loud applause) That's where we stand. In the black community you see that we are already beginning to build our new heroes. And it's very beautiful to see, that the white people who are interested, are also capable of relating across the board with heroes of any hue. That you can go into many houses today and you will see a picture of Huey P. Newton, the Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, on the wall. Of Malcolm X, Che Guevara, Mao Tse-tung, Ho Chi Minh, or some other person. And you don't see George Washington. If you do, he is upside

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down. You don't see Lyndon Baines Johnson. If you do he is on the toilet seat. (loud applause) Here's a situation, where General Hershey, the man who sends out these greetings to some black brothers of the ghetto and sends them to Vietnam to kill the Vietnamese people, steps out front and says, I endorse George C. Wallace for President. And then, General Curtis Le May, General Curtis Le May, the God of the supreme air command, is his running mate. I say here that they had better be running. They had better be running. They had better be running because the people are watching them. The people are on to them. They have seen them for what they are, and they know them to be the cinks of the power structure and the only question that remains is, how to deal with them. But they look upon you, particularly young white people, they look upon you as being some kind of flim-flam Pepsi generation that ain't never goin' to get to anything similar to what the students of Mexico are into. Or what the students of France are into. Or what the students of the world get into once in awhile. And so they had Columbia, and now they got Berkeley. And the way they stumble and fumble telling one lie to cover up the first. Telling another lie just like another blundering fool. We could say that it's goin' to be an increasing tempo of chaos in the competition between the pigs of the power structure and the people that we have to have student power and some faculty power. We say, all power to the people. Black power to black people. Brown power to brown people. Red power to red people. Yellow power to yellow people. White power to white people. White power to white people. (applause) I know, I know that there are people who are reluctant to relate to that. But I can relate to white power, because what you've had, although it has been misnamed white power, is the pig power. Can you see that now? Can you see that now? You can see that clearly now because you have to organize yourselves to get your white power in order to stop these pigs who have been, who have inflicted their power upon you. There is a contradiction between the power of the oppressors and the legitimate power of the people. We say that evidence is true. No matter where it is found,

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have the absolute right to be in control of it's own destiny and not to be manipulate by another people. Period. That goes for anybody. That goes for anybody. (applause) And that's not asking too much. That's askin' right on the diamond. Everybody's pitchin'. The basic principal that we move on is that every man, woman, and child on the face of the planet, Earth, deserves a chance to be hired and the best chance of living that human knowledge and technology is capable of providing, period. They've got a right to that. This being the best of medical attention, best education, the best of everything. The best that is available that could be equally distributed. And no pig is comin' along and sayin' Well, ah, I have Rafferty first. Although all these assembled people came here naked from his mother's womb, I came here with a fist full of blue chip stocks and an armful of trustees, which gives me a professional right to all resources of this planet, Earth, so you'll have to work for me. Punch my time clock if you want to live. If you want clothing, and if you want food, and if you want jobs. I question these miraculous firsts. I question them. (applause) I say, I say that they came here just like everybody else and they are goin' to leave here just like everybody else, in various ways. It's very touching to have various ways. Some like to do it one way, some the other way. Let me say here that old pigs never die, they just oink away. But he is not going to go oinking to his happy hunting ground. He is goin' to go running. He is goin' to go running because the people in this country, and here is a prediction. It's a prediction that the people of this country are goin' to make a decisive break, are going to make a decisive break with those exploiters who chiefly compose the Republican Party, the Democratic Party. That own the parties' pigs, and the millions of masses of people, enough people to set off forces of something that's going to change into something that's going to change into revolution. That's coming. It's coming, just as sure as you're here. Because it has to come because the capitalistic system can no longer function for the needs of the people in this country on an equitable basis.

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It cannot serve the needs of the people. It cannot move. They system cannot move. The wheels cannot turn, unless some avaricious businessman can see a profit in his column at the end of a fiscal period. So that they are going to have to be ex-appropriated. Let me give you an example that used to be our latest bout. Because I am, and I think it relates to you because I don't know anyone who is not up tight about that phone bill. I don't know anybody. I swear I don't know anybody except my parole officer. You don't have to say it but he is very stingy when I want to make a long distance call. But all the people that I know are up tight about their phone bill, and when you look at that receipt there is a direct perversion of the very core of a society of civilization, or of society trying to become civilized. Here is the communication. Communication, the transportation of the essentials for the unity of all these millions and millions of people so that they have a tariff on these communications in this country. If you're not able to afford these high phone bills, you can't call your mother if she's living in the State of Alabama. You cannot afford to stay in contact with your graduating class. Maybe some of you rich people down here can. But, generally, most people can't. The people who are affluent in this country have all kinds of sophisticated devices to communicate with. The rest of the people suffer the \_\_\_\_\_ of being cut off from other people because they cannot afford the tariff. And when you look across this country and see that general situation, you find that it works out to be a planned phenomenon that certain people in this society can't communicate. They can't afford it. So I say that one of the first things that has to be done in this country is that the telephone companies from coast to coast have to be nationalized. They have to be nationalized. The only legitimate cost, the only legitimate cost involved is the cost of maintaining the system and for elaborating it, making it more sophisticated. Legitimate expenses. And no businessman has a God-given right to sit back and draw profit from our alienationized ability to communicate. Transportation the

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same way. And this relates, that's for our flung from the campus. Goodnight brothers, goodnight. Go back to coffee \_\_\_\_\_. Look at here. That's what Max Rafferty told you. That I was a rude nigger, and I'm a rude nigger and I'm being rude to Babylon because Babylon has been rude to me. (applause) Babylon has been rude to me, and I demand the right to be rude to Babylon. And I'm trying to get out of that. So I apologize for being rude. Not for saying f--- Ronald Reagan, but for being rude to you. Because I respect you and I have nothing but contempt for that pig. That's right. So it's either legitimate, or it's not, for me to speak or to talk or to say what I want. It's either disasterous or it's not. No one in here has to listen to anything that I say. What they think, they can forget it and these walls are not going to fall down unless somebody puts a bomb in here. The walls of Berkeley are not going to fall down unless the Regents try to force the students to go along with that stupid resolution. They said that I could deliver one lecture. The students requested me to deliver ten. What we are moving to do now is to deliver twenty. (loud, long applause) And not for the sake of making mischief or just to keep Ronald Reagan awake at night. But because there's a principle at stake, and people was to defend that principle, and no one, no one, no one should, who claims to be human, should abandon a principle. Like what about the girl here in San Diego? I read about her. She needed an iron lung. She was afflicted with some type of respiratory disease. And some man in Chicago, who had got an iron lung for his wife who had passed away, gave this girl this iron lung, and Mickey Mouse and Donald Duck were involved, at that very time, in trying to destroy, a weak bill anyway, that came up with some medical care for the aged. What kind of a ham is that? What kind of a man is that that doesn't want medical attention for babies, who don't want it for old people? Who don't want it for you unless you're rich, and who couldn't give a damn whether the poor have it or not. That's not the type of government now that we can accept. (applause) They say that the

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people get the rulers they deserve. No! I mean there must be some exceptions to that, because look at what we are confronted with for the next four years. I'm not going to be here, thank goodness. You are not going to be that lucky. You have a choice between racist pig Nixon, racist pig Wallace, and racist pig Humphrey. That's your choice. Those are the rulers you deserve? No. I have a lot of grievances against this republic, this democracy, this mobocracy, whatever it is. You have to define it. But I don't feel that the people of this country deserve those rulers. Yet they've got them. Yet they've got them. And they have got them because the pigs have usurped the machinery of government in this country so that there is no government of the people, for the people, and by the people. For the cinks, of the cinks, and by the cinks. That's what it is. They have proven that. They have disregarded the best interests of the people. They are giving the Vietnamese people bombs for breakfast. They say they want to stop the war. That LBJ with his bleeding, lying heart wants to stop the war through the negotiations in France today. If he wanted to stop the war, all he would have to do is take the phone and call the Pentagon and say bring our boys back home. (loud and long applause) That's all he'd have to do. One phone call. Or he might could even make a sign, I don't know. Hey Baby, that's all. I mean they've got red phones and leased lines. They've got everything. He might could snap his fingers and get them out of there. But he could get them out of there. And the war is still goin' on and they are still moving against those who dissent against the war. Souls, and they told us that it was said that as soon as he got to Washington. They weren't lying. The liars. Of course, ladies and gentlemen, you committed them to that in the heat of American history. First they said that Lynchin Baines Johnson was a lying motherf-----, that's what they said. That's what they said. They said that this man has a government. This man has a government and the people that live under that government can't believe in the reports that he issues out to them. They can't believe what he says.

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If he tells them it's raining, they might come outside in a bathing suit in the sunshine. You can't believe in what he says. His own party repudiated him and, after awhile, it sunk into his thick head and he repudiated himself and said he wasn't going to run no more. And for that egotistical, power hungry lynchin Baines Johnson, who stepped aside, he must have really took a good look. He must have taken a acid trip. He must have really got into himself. He must have got into himself and said well, ah, and said to the people and said I can't recommend me anymore. But what they need to do is give Humphrey some acid, Nixon some acid, and Wallace some, ah, acid. (loud laughter) And, ah, let'em take a trip, let'em take a trip and then come back and make some speeches so we'll see if they're sealed into that reactionary s--- they're talking now. Because if they can't pass the acid test, they ain't goin' to pass, they're not goin' to pass tests, they're not goin' to pass tests. (loud applause) They are not goin' to pass the tests of the next four years. Because the next four years are gonna be a kick goin' in Babylon. All around the world, because people of the world are rising up and saying no more. No more. (applause) And we here in Babylon have got to rise up and let the people of the world know that there are still some human beings left within the issues of this decadent system, and that they are no longer caught up in these racist bags. That they have put that behind, and I think we can be put that \_\_\_\_\_. I say that it's possible to solve any conflict on the face of those today including the war between the Arabs, the Jews, and the Middle East. They can be stopped. All these conflicts can be stopped if you rule out the necessity of protecting the properties, and the interests, the oil rights of these Standard oils and these other oils. (applause) You must get out and stop wars. You can have the Arabs and the Jews finish out their struggle smoking a pipe together. (applause) You can have that. That goes for these. These antagonisms are not eternal. The basis - Wait a minute. (Cleaver talks aside to someone) F---. Yea, that's okay. All right, let that go, let that be. (Then in a loud voice) We don't give a motherf---. The pigs are out here after something and we just want you to know. We want the

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the Sheriff, every police chief, every mayor, every patrolman, every policeman in the world. We want you to know that we are no more afraid of you. You can kill us and right off. Right off. Right off. (applause) That the people, the people have no need. The people have no need to stand. The people have no need to stand. The people have no need to stand in fear of crumbling a bloody servant. That's bulls---. You can kill us but, ah, you gonna have to sneak up on us because if you shoot at us, we gonna shoot back. (loud applause) And we know that they are incensed. They can't stand to be criticized. They are full of criticism. And they are all alone, left there holdin' the bag is a profound thesis against those who go astray of their luck. It is. But when you tell them, look you just shot that man. You didn't have to shoot the man, at least you could have shot him in the leg. They want to shoot you for saying that. And he will lie about it. That's what makes me mad. If he would shoot a man down and say, Yes I did it. That would be one thing. But they shoot a man down and call it justifiable homicide and the Chief of Police says, Oink. (loud applause) So we have to get the point across. That when they are assaulting you, we know that you are only human. We know that up under your clothes you have a naked a-- and a swingin' d---. And we don't buy you. And we also know that in this country there are more people than there are pigs. We know that. (applause) So why should we be afraid of you? (applause) You are going to start doin' your job, motherf---, or get another job. You are going to do your job or get another job, period. Because we pay your salaries. We pay your salaries, and, as long as you're eating out of the public trough, you gonna do what the public says. After the public gets itself together. And this is the generation, Mr. Jones. Mr. Jones, with your F. Scott Fitzgerald books. This is the generation, some of you. You better watch some of the others. Because they are goin' to go into the CIA. That's a sad situation. That part \_\_\_\_\_ that goes into the CIA, by goin'

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back to graduating classes of these colleges because they don't take high school dropouts, I don't think. And see where all your graduating friends go. Those who go into the CIA, get pictures of them and send them around to your closest people. Send them around. Because the next battlefield, the next battlefield after Viet Nam, is right here in Babylon. (loud, long applause) In Babylon. It's right here in Babylon. We didn't plan it. We didn't plan it. It just happened that way. And we have to relate to it. And there's a history to it. There's sumptin' that brought it back, brought it about, and we don't charge the white people in this audience with being guilty of the deeds, the crimes, of their forefathers, unless they persist in those deeds. Persist in that game and perpetuate the machinery of oppression. Racism that is used by the economic system as a full speed threat to our people. To oppress people. There was a time                     . We came here refugees from the Chinese, and they came here and the Indians brought them corn, brought them turkey, and taught them how to make it in the new world. And they taught the Indians death. They didn't plan it, they just stumbled into that. It became functional to remove those heathens from their land because then we could put our cows out there, or we could grow more cotton out there for these Negroes to pick. So that history developed. What you call it? Cosmopolitan, estrofitichism bitaphobia. All these categories born in the Dark Ages of human history have got to be done away with. They're not functional for us anymore. We need new justification. And that's why the class        that we were planning at the University of California was gonna be very important to free speech. It was going to be our best effort                      to graduate a class, the first class to be graduated from that course were going to be the staff of the American Revolutionary Ideological Institute. An off-the-campus group because we don't feel that the Regents would accredit it. (applause) We don't feel that way. The crying need of America today is for Karl Marx. Karl Marx to be taken out of mothballs and looked at and read. You don't have to be

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afraid of Karl Marx. He was a smart wildcat. He was very smart. He had a whole lot to say. (applause) He had some things to say, if you haven't already read it, would you read it? It's goin' to blow your mind. You're goin' to run down the street saying f--- you Ronald Reagan, f--- you. (applause) We goin' to have to start talking about our Yankee Doodle Dandee friends of some socialism for America. (applause) We are not talking about importing the Russian Imperialists or making the American people into a carbon copy of the Chinese. That would be impossible, as racist as this country is. But we are talking about taking the problems that turn this country into treachery and for in the future and seeing what applicability the universal principles of socialism might have to specific situations. To the specific situations right here in decadent, fallen-down America. The status for the welfare, no we'll save it for welfare. We were our issue. Who made the machines obsolete? It was the Babylon people. And those pigs take the work of human heritage. Information and technology that has developed down thousands and thousands of years, and claim it as their private property. And they can send it to Washington, D. C. and get a patent on it. They can get a patent on human heritage. And they can tell you that you don't have access to it. They stand between you and the cow and the milk. What relation does the former Mayor Christopher have to the cow? How can he insinuate himself between you and a drink of milk. And you deserve this and you have to pay a tariff to provide him with campaign funds so he can be Mayor or run for Governor at your expense. At our expense. This whole decadent system. That's not far away from the course at the University of California. It's right there. You see the way that these pigs are making all this noise about this course. They don't understand nothin' about this campus. They don't care about that. They couldn't care less. No members \_\_\_\_\_ of the various white this year. No members of \_\_\_\_\_. Max Rafferty wants to be Senator. And no tellin' what Reagan wants to do. Whatever is written on his script, that's what he

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is into. So they're looking for a political whipping boy and California politicians are trying to do it to ya. They've resorted to tampering with the campus. Quoting footnotes in textbooks that might list the word Communism and say this book has to be burned. And burn the chap that wrote it. That's what this country is coming to. Adolph Hitler now. Then they're saying Adolph Hitler did this thing. And who are they? Who are they that they cannot be tried for their war crimes? And hung by the neck like they did those they tried at Nuremberg. Who would say not guilty to Lynchin Baines Johnson for the war crimes brought against him for what he has done to the Vietnamese people? (applause) He might get a hung jury. He might get a hung jury in La Jolla or in Orange County. But some other places he might get hung by his neck. The war criminals and human rights criminals, and we call them Lucifer for burning us. And those who say that we do this are registered to vote. An insane approach. Because we advocate self-defense even for the students. We say that there should be no guns, no guns brought on the campus. There shouldn't be any guns brought on the campus, either by the students, the faculty members, or us. Us stands for people or by the policemen. Take the guns off of the campuses. Take the guns off the campuses. Take the Mace, take the Mace and those baseball bats off of the campuses and some of these cops. It's gonna be their heads. Don't crack no more heads here. Oh, you feel sure if you crack one. You just know it's goin' get cracked anyway, right? You don't have to wait for the Board of Regents to pass a resolution. You could pass one yourself and say get the guns off the campus, and we could do it right now. I say you probably got a forum here. (laughter and applause) You could get a forum, wait a minute. Let's take a vote, and Regents since you don't know how to function, I'm goin' this for you. All those in favor of banning guns, Mace, and baseball bats in the hands of the pigs from the campus, raise your right hand or holler or say somethin' (loud applause and yeas) Well. You see now that's somethin' you forgot to consider. (applause) It is. And that's somethin' for the local

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police to consider. They're goin' oppose this. Because the next time that Ronald Reagan tells them to run in there and throw sticks around, and they ain't got no guns or sticks but just a \_\_\_\_\_ he ain't goin' get no a-- kicked but his own a-- kicked. (applause) Because, whereas there are people who would tell him if you shoot at me, I'm shootin' back, there are more people who will tell him, if you hit me motherf-----, I'm goin' to down you. (loud applause) So I say get your guns off campus and, ah, I'll rent me a room on campus. (applause) Because those are just little problems that have to be solved. They are bigger problems that have to be solved. Staggering problems we got and we can't solve them. We can't solve these problems. We can't stay in the world. It looks to me like the problems already \_\_\_\_\_ because Curtis Le May has hydrogen bombs under his control. General Wheeler, Lyndon Johnson has all those buttons. I don't see why the motherf-----'s got all those buttons. (laughter) He might wake up one morning no longer thinking that he is God but that he would give a Rafferty something \_\_\_\_\_. (laughter) So I say, ah, that we gotta ease them out of there. I say put a black finger on the nuclear trigger. (applause) Ain't that so right? Tell her? about that s--- er, ha. I don't know about that white play either \_\_\_\_\_, that's the way I feel about it. I say this don't come to me talking about gun control. Take all the guns from the people and start giving tanks to the pigs. I don't want to hear about that kind of gun control. I don't want to hear about that \_\_\_\_\_. Don't start that. If you are goin' to start talking about gun control, start controlling those who use guns lawlessly. That's the police. That's the police. (applause) Anything in uniform, including the bus drivers and the fire department, who want guns. And there is a psychology you know; we all go to classes at a certain time. Hup, hup, hup, hup, hup. They get chopped off from the chief biggest littlest. They give blue stars for killing somebody. Like they decorate you for killing someone in VietNam. Give you a Purple Heart. In Oakland, they gave the officer who murdered Bobby Hutton a blue star. They gave

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the man who shot me a blue star, and they gave me a nice, shiny indictment for getting shot. And they go around telling people that I shot at them. I wish that I had of had a gun. I wish I had of had a gun because there was so many bullets flyin' that all I could do was say, Goodbye world. Now I've got the charge. It's a trick bag. I don't have the charge. I just have some tactical maneuvers to go through. They got a empty bag. I'm not goin' to get in it. I'm out of that bag. I'm out of that bag. I want to be in this bag. I want to be part of the solution. I don't want to be part of the problem. I don't want to associate with judges. (applause) I don't want to associate with judges. I don't want to associate with judges and policemen and prosecuting attorneys cause they're the problem. I want to associate with those who are being prosecuted. I want to associate with Jerry Rubin, who's doin' his best. He has been subpoenaed to Washington by this super pig committee 2X (?) called Un-American Activities Committee. It's unAmerican to go to Chicago and say we want Eugene McCarthy, or that we don't want any of you pigs. We should have a right to say that. We have to claim that right. That's what Jerry Rubin is doing. \_\_\_ may not approve with everything he does, but you want to say he is movin'. He is out there doin' something and it's not easy what he is doin' and what are you doin'? Is this just a peep show? A side show that you come in and check out and then go back and check back into the system, and suffer under the tyranny of Regents. The governorship of King Reagan. You gonna accept all that? (several no's from the crowd) Why no I heard some masculinite male voices say no. You sound like, ah, non-violent, ah, peaceful co-existence with the pigs-type people when I hear your voice. I'm not quite sure I know that there is a difference between you and where the ladies are at. Because the ladies are tied up in the fourth world revolution. You have your minds up on this revolution, the third world revolution. The soldiers revolution that's goin' on and the women are moving into that and they understand what I mean when I say that political power grows on the tips of a p---y. (applause)

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P---y power. I'm saying. What I'm saying, I'm saying that everything is political. Everything should either be progressive. Could even be revolutionary. It could be rational or conservative. It could be downright painful. Love can be progressive. Love can be revolutionary. Sex can be revolutionary. Because if you are revolutionary ladies, and I don't care if all the men leave right now. If you are revolutionary ladies, are progressive ladies, how can you relate being part of the revolution laying with a part of the problem? (applause) That don't make sense. You have no truck with the problem. You have no truck with the problem. If you are now bein' playful with a part of the problem, tell them later, go away, get yourself together fixin' up your backbone, and come back when you are ready to defend your tribe. You are the warrior of your tribe, if you've forgotten that. But get ready to defend the women and the children, the old and the infirm. Start doin' that. Defend them against all human attack. Not just against physical attack, but the legislative attack launched upon the people from the legislatures of the U.S. Congress. Defend the people from that. Tell them ladies. Not to call you on the telephone, not to write you letters. Don't come around till they get themselves together. You don't have to worry, because there will always be enough revolutionary cats who will go out there and hang their name and phone number on some bulletin board in a prominent place and they will come to you and aid you in your hour of need. (laughter) You don't have, you don't have to have Ronald Reagan for your loved one, or Rafferty, or Nixon. Is there anybody here who would play Humphrey. (chorus of no's) I may not get one vote but I know about the best presidential, the best looking presidential candidate they've got goin' this year. (loud applause) So there's some fine looking people, so there's some fine looking people. You know that they'd be doing nothin' right. You don't start lookin' like Humphrey does just be bein' born. You have to have a boxcar filled with pins on your weak heart. On the cavity where your soul should be. You got to be off into the deep. Just as deep

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as he is. No. If we're wrong. Okay. I see the people lookin' at the clock. I guess it's time for somethin'. Now I'll jabber off some words, but this is the point I would like to make. This point I'd like to make. That pig took it with him and he was blown away. It took non-violent p---y. He brought it here more or less, and he tried it to the best and we are not safe so it's gone. Gone. And we still might be wrong even though it is gone. That when I die, I might find myself before the throne of God with a long beard and a hippy a-- and he may say, Eldridge Cleaver because you call Ronald Reagan a pig, a f---, a coward, and tell him to f--- himself and all those other things you did, you know, you have to go to Hell and burn, Bary, burn. And sst, you know, he shoots me down into that. If I'm goin' to burn forever, evidently, I am not consumed too quick so I might be able to check around, and I will find all of you there. I'll find the members of the Black Panther Party there, and I'll say, let's get together here and try to deal with the Devil. Deal with the Devil. Deal with the Devil. Deal with the Devil. Deal with the Devil. Deal with the Devil. (loud, long applause) And if God, in his wisdom, forms a coalition with the Devil against us, we will have to deal with him. I say, wait a minute. Hey wait, I say that Adam and Eve made a fundamental error. They didn't have breakfast together. They were running around there on that land that they had fornicating, eating apples, whatever they were doin'. And the landlord didn't like it because they were exercising free will and he sent the Chief of Police down there. The archangel, St. Michael, the first pig in history. (loud, applause) Sent him down there, the pig, the pig down there, sent him down there, sent him down there armed against the naked people with a flaming sword and said that I have orders under Section 322 of the code. (applause) I have to ask you, I have to ask you to get off of this land. And Adam and Eve must have been a, a turn-the-other-cheek cat. They turned all the other cheeks. He didn't resist at all. Didn't he know that they had police on that land around there somewhere? Didn't he know there was a police force around

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there? Come and collect the rent. Why didn't he have a police force of his own? So that he could have stood there and did an inspiration. If he had been Huey P. Newton, he would have stood up and said, you swing on me with your sword motherf-----, I'm swingin' back. (loud applause) And we wouldn't have to go through all of those changes. We wouldn't have no vote. We wouldn't have no Christianity. We wouldn't have nothin' but the garden of Eden, and we want it back. We want it brought down here to Earth, and we could do that because the human knowledge and the technology is here, it's here, that we could chip the contradictions from amongst people, outside of people, and there would be justified conditions between people and their struggle to cope with their environment. That's the only valid contradiction. The ----- would all be cooperation because you ought to keep all the cows in your backyard each day and even eat beans. If you had any sense, you would let some of those cows come out here and let us have steak too. Because if you lay up there on the hill eatin' steak while we eat beans, we goin' be plottin' your death. We goin' to be plottin' how to kill you, how to eliminate you because you stand between us and the only heaven that we think that we will ever know. And we want that for ourselves. We want that for everybody. We just want it and we are fired with that. So, I mean, I'm stopping now, but I am goin' to keep on doing this. If they send me to jail, I would be more than glad to go to jail, but it's got to be meaningful because so many times in my life I have gone to jail for some bulls---, so I am proud to be able to relate to something that has something to do with the solution to the problem of the people of the world and all the pigs that can't relate to it. They can go ahead and do what I used to do, and be criminals and commit crimes against the people. And I'm goin' to do unto those that do to them what they used to do to me and that is to corral them and apprehend them and bring them to justice, either in the courtroom or in the streets. That's all. (loud, long applause) All power to the people, all power to the people. (Other statements drowned out by the loud applause)."

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After the speech, a collection was taken.

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APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY,  
also known as BLACK PANTHER  
PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality," to unite black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party-Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

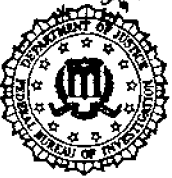
NEWTON aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

APPENDIX

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*In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.*

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Diego, California

October 23, 1968

Title            LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Character

Reference       Letterhead Memorandum dated  
                  and captioned as above at  
                  San Diego, California.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities  
are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable  
information in the past.

## Domestic Intelligence Division

## INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 10/19/68

Attached relates to an extremely militant speech given by Leroy Eldridge Cleaver of the Black Panther Party at Howard University, Washington, D.C., on 10/18/68.

Cleaver is on parole in California after serving eight years for assault with a deadly weapon (attempted rape). He has been speaking at colleges in West and East for the past several weeks. Speeches have been filled with ~~disparities~~ and have included revolutionary statements which are being referred to Department.

Copies of attached furnished to the Criminal Division and Inter-Division Information Unit of the Department. Also being furnished the Attorney General and the Internal Security Division.

WGS:er

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Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

TO: DIRECTOR AND SAC SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

FROM: SAC, WFO (157-2026)

LEROEY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. RM - BPP.

A SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST ADVISED SUBJECT APPEARED APPROXIMATELY EIGHT PM OCTOBER EIGHTEEN LAST AT HOWARD UNIVERSITY (HU), WASHINGTON, D.C. (WDC) FOR SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT. SPEECH SPONSORED BY PROJECT AWARENESS COMMITTEE, A STUDENT GROUP AT HU. PROGRAM HELD AT HU CRAMPTON AUDITORIUM WITH FULL AUDIENCE OF ABOUT TWELVE HUNDRED PRESENT, MOSTLY NEGRO COLLEGE STUDENTS. STOKELY CARMICHAEL DID NOT ATTEND. SUBJECT INTRODUCED BY C. SUMNER STONE, FORMER AIDE OF EX-CONGRESSMAN ADAM CLAYTON POWELL.

SUBJECT SPOKE ABOUT ONE HOUR AND WAS ENTHUSIASTICALLY RECEIVED BY AUDIENCE. HE MENTIONED HIS LEGAL TROUBLES AND SAID HE DID NOT PLAN TO RETURN TO JAIL IF HIS BOND IS REVOKED IN CALIFORNIA.

2 - Bureau  
3 - Teletype Unit  
2 - WFO

1 - 157-1956 (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

WWH:typ

(7)

OCT 24 1968

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

59 NOV 3 1968

Approved: Joseph D. Purais

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

WFO 157-2026  
PAGE TWO

HE ALSO MENTIONED HE HAD BEEN TERMED A PSYCHOPATH ONCE BY DOCTORS. DURING THE SPEECH HE STATED BLACK PEOPLE NEED GUNS AND MUST NOT BE AFRAID TO GET GUNS. THAT AFTER GETTING GUNS THEY MUST GET ORGANIZED. HE SAID A FEW GUNS WERE NOT SUFFICIENT. HE STATED WHITES HAVE THE HYDROGEN BOMB AND BLACKS MUST STEAL IT TO ERADICATE ~~QUOTE~~ <sup>//</sup> THE PIGS <sup>//</sup> ~~UNQUOTE~~. GOVERNOR REAGAN, MAYOR WALTER WASHINGTON OF WDC, SENATOR BYRD AND CHIEF JOHN LAYTON OF *Metropolitan Police Department* ~~MPD~~ WERE MENTIONED AS PIGS. HE STATED THERE MUST BE A CHANGE IN THE SYSTEM IN THE US AND THAT HE PREFERS SOCIALISM. HE ADDED THE US MUST BE DEFEATED AND THERE IS NO MIDDLE GROUND IN THE STRUGGLE. HE STATED THE US IS HEADED FOR DISASTER AND THE NEGRO IS NO LONGER AFRAID. HE CONTINUED THAT EVERY BLACK MAN MUST PARTICIPATE AND THAT THERE WILL BE ~~QUOTE~~ <sup>//</sup> NO NIGGERS <sup>//</sup> ~~UNQUOTE~~. HE STATED ~~QUOTE~~ <sup>//</sup> IF YOU ALLOW BLOOD OF A BLACK BROTHER TO FLOW YOU ARE A NIGGER. IF THAT HAPPENS, YOU IN ~~UNQUOTE~~ <sup>//</sup>. HE SAID ~~QUOTE~~ <sup>//</sup> THIS IS THE LAST GO ROUND ~~UNQUOTE~~ <sup>//</sup>. HE CLAIMED THE US IS GETTING READY TO PRACTICE GENOCIDE AGAINST BLACK PEOPLE. HE SAID ~~QUOTE~~ <sup>//</sup> IT HAPPENED TO THE JEWS AND IT CAN HAPPEN TO YOU ~~UNQUOTE~~ <sup>//</sup>. HE CONTINUED HE HAD SEEN HONKY COPS RUN THREE TIMES AND THAT ALL WHITE COPS ARE COWARDS. HE ADDED ~~QUOTE~~ <sup>//</sup> WE

WFO 157-2026  
PAGE THREE

MUST NOT LET HONKY COPS RIDE WITH THEIR HEAD STICKING OUT  
WINDOWS ~~UNSAFE~~. HE SAID THAT AFTER THE VIETNAM WAR NEXT  
BATTLEGROUND WILL BE US. HE SAID NEGROES MUST PREPARE FOR  
WHAT IS TO COME AS REST OF THE WORLD IS AGAINST THE US. THE  
NEGROES MUST JOIN WITH THE REST OF THE THIRD WORLD TO DEFEAT  
THE US. HE ADDED GUNS START WHERE POLITICS OF LIBERTY, FREEDOM  
AND HUMAN RIGHTS END. HE SAID ~~QUOTE~~ "WE WILL TAKE OUR TIME IN  
READINESS FOR DESTRUCTION OF THIS COUNTRY" ~~UNSAFE~~. HE CHARACTER-  
IZED JEFFERSON AND LINCOLN AS RACISTS. HE SHOUTED ~~QUOTE~~ "POWER  
TO MAC AND HO ~~UNSAFE~~ A NUMBER OF TIMES. HE URGED BLACK WOMEN  
TO USE THEIR SEX APPEAL STATING VULGARLY POLITICS GO WITH SEX.  
HE TOLD THEM NOT TO GO TO BED WITH ANYONE NOT BLACK AND A  
REVOLUTIONIST. HE SAID THEY SHOULD CHECK THEM OUT TO SEE IF  
THEY HAVE GUNS, THEN BULLETS.

HE CONTINUED BLACK ARMIES ARE BEING ESTABLISHED  
EVERYWHERE IN THE US. TO PROTECT BLACK PEOPLE. HE SAID THESE  
BLACK ARMY OFFICERS WILL HAVE BULLETIN BOARDS HANGING ON THEIR  
WALLS.

HE STATED HOWARD UNIVERSITY IS NOT DONE YET. THAT  
HOWARD PRODUCED SOME BRILLIANT MEN WHO LATER DESERTED THEIR  
PEOPLE. HE MENTIONED MAYOR WASHINGTON OF WDC AND JUSTICE

WFO 157-2026  
PAGE FOUR

THURGOOD MARSHALL.

HE STATED BLACK PEOPLE DEMAND COMMUNITY CONTROL. THEY WANT BLACK COURTS, BLACK HOSPITALS, BLACK EDUCATION AND EVERYTHING TECHNOLOGY CAN PRODUCE. HE STATED ~~QUOTE~~ "IF WE DON'T GET IT, WE WILL TAKE IT ~~UNQUOTE~~". IN ADDITION HE STATED BLACK PEOPLE WANT POLICE AND EVERYONE ELSE WORKING IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY TO RESIDE IN THAT COMMUNITY. HE SAID THERE IS WHITE POWER, RED POWER AND YELLOW POWER. ALL NEGROES WANT IS BLACK POWER.

HE TERMINED THE SPEECH BY SINGING A VULGAR SONG ABOUT GOVERNOR REAGAN AND CHIEF LAYTON. HE SAID IT WOULD BECOME THE NATIONAL ANTHEM OF BLACK PEOPLE. A QUESTION AND ANSWER PERIOD WAS THEN ANNOUNCED BUT NO QUESTIONS WERE ASKED. THE PROGRAM ENDED ABOUT NINE FORTYFIVE PM. THERE WERE NO INCIDENTS OR DISTURBANCES REPORTED TO HAVE TAKEN PLACE.

ADMINISTRATIVE

RE WFO TEL OCTOBER EIGHTEEN LAST.

ABOVE SOURCE IS

*Memo*  
LHM FOLLOWS.

b2  
b7D

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU

XEROX ROSEN

CC- MR SULLIVAN

VIA TELETYPE

OCT 23 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

17221-

WA 08 344 PM MMC

URGENT 10-23-68 MMC

TO DIRECTOR AND SAN FRANCISCO (PLAINTEXT)

SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON

FROM CHICAGO (157-3385) (P)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER RM DASH BPP OO SAN FRANCISCO.

RE CHICAGO AIRTEL TO DIRECTOR OCTOBER EIGHTEEN, LAST.

SOURCE, RELIABLE, ADVISED INSTANT SUBJECT CANCELLED

SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY (NU), EVANSTON,  
ILLINOIS, FRIDAY, OCTOBER TWENTY FIVE, NEXT. PAROLE PROBLEMS  
IN CALIFORNIA REQUIRE SUBJECT'S PRESENCE THERE FOR NEXT FOUR  
TO FIVE WEEKS. SUBJECT REPORTEDLY CANCELLED NINE SPEAKING  
ENGAGEMENTS.

ROLAND J. HINZ, DEAN OF STUDENTS, NU, INSTANT, MADE  
SIMILAR ANNOUNCEMENT TO CHICAGO NEWS MEDIA.

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES CHICAGO TELEPHONICALLY ADVISED.

END

CJD R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

CC-MR. [REDACTED]  
ROOM 836 9&D

b6  
b7C

TELETYPED TO:

56 NOV 6 1968

REC-5 100-447251-100

LA-105

OCT 25 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/14/81 BY SP2 TAP/ab

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL  
ON 12-01-2005

RA  
Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General  
Director, FBI

October 31, 1968

1 - Mr.

b6  
b7C

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

A memorandum incorporating a transcript of the subject's speech at Howard University on October 18, 1968, is enclosed. Also enclosed is a memorandum concerning the subject's speech at New York University on October 11, 1968.

This material should be considered in connection with my letter dated September 6, 1968, requesting a prosecutive opinion.

Copies of the enclosed memoranda have been furnished to the Criminal Division.

100-447251

Enclosures - 2

REC 26

1 - San Francisco (100-55520)

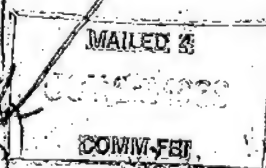
19 NOV 1 1968

RMH:lmr

(5)

NOTE: The subject has made a series of approximately 15 speeches, primarily at colleges throughout the country, which contain frequent revolutionary statements. Bulet 9/6/68 requested a prosecutive opinion in connection with possible violations of the statutes proscribing overthrow and destruction of the Government, seditious conspiracy and overthrow of the Government by force and violence. The Department advised by letter dated 10/2/68 that the matter is under consideration. Memoranda concerning subject's speech at Xerox Corporation, Rochester, New York, 7/26/68; speech at Irvine,

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Upon removal of classified material, this letter becomes unclassified.

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO.

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley

NOTE CONTINUED:

California, 9/26/68; speech at Intermediate School 258, Brooklyn, New York, 10/13/68; speech at Columbia University, 10/14/68 and speech at American University, 10/18/68, have been referred to the Department for opinion. Enclosures are copies of enclosures to WFO airtel 10/23/68, subject's file, and New York airtel 10/21/68, Bufile 176-989. Letter classified "Confidential" as memorandum dated 10/23/68 so classified on the basis that data from informants of continuing value could reasonably result in their identification and compromise their future effectiveness. Latter memorandum is filled with obscenities and is transmitted in "Obscene" envelope.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: 10/21/68

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-2323)(P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM-BPP

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of letterhead memorandum captioned as above, suitable for dissemination. Two copies enclosed for San Francisco and New York.

This letterhead memorandum is being disseminated locally to Secret Service and local military agencies.

Enclosed letterhead memorandum reflects information of a proposed type of disruptive activity to be held November 5, 1968 in an attempt to disrupt the election processes.

One article is signed by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and the other by STEWART E. ALBERT, ABBY HOFFMAN and JERRY RUBIN. The second article requests that all inquiries in regard to this demonstration be forwarded to Youth International Party, in care of ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Ramparts Magazine, 495 Beach Street, San Francisco, California, 94133.

b6  
b7C

ST-113  
cards only  
REC-32

REC-1

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 2/19/82 BY SP5 JGR

ENCLOSURE EX 106

100-447251-102

12 NOV 1 1968

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b7C

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 11)(RM)
- 2 - New York (100-162260)(Enc. 2)(RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (Enc. 2)(RM)
- 2 - Los Angeles  
(1 - 100-71449)

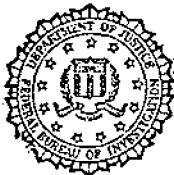
BHR/jar  
56 NOV 22 1968

AGENCY: ASST. DIR., GEN. INV. DIV.  
DEPT: ISD, [REDACTED], CO.

HOW FORN: R/S  
DATE FORN: 11/13/68  
BY: RMH/Tha  
100-804

RACIAL INT. SECT.

clearing (R)



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California

October 21, 1968

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

The October 11, 1968 issue of "Open City", an avant garde weekly newspaper in the Los Angeles area, carried an article entitled "YIPANTHER PACT". The article consists of two parts, advocating general disruptive tactics to be held on election day, November 5, 1968. The first part is signed by Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party (BPP) (See Appendix). The second part is signed by Stewart E. Albert, Abby Hoffman and Jerry Rubin. All three individuals are recognized as initial founders of Youth International Party (YIP) also known as YIPPIES. *CHIFF*

Attached is a copy of the above article.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 2/19/82 BY SP5 RJG/SP

100-247251-  
ENCLOSURE

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# YIPANTHER

BERKELEY BARB

## PACT

1968 — the year of the pig.

The death of the ballot, the birth of the bullet — here is the choice — contemptuously thrust in our face by this decadent racist power structure: racist pig Humphrey, racist pig Nixon, racist pig Wallace for President! So where do we go from here?

Into the streets! Into the alleys! Back of town! Onto the rooftops! Behind whatever shelter remains for a black person here in Babylon!

This is the nightmare election year of the American dream. The Republican Party and the Democratic Party have told black people to kiss the ass of the elephant and the donkey. They have done this in no uncertain terms.

It is time for black people to tell the elephant and the jackass to go fuck each other — political and moral cretins that they are. Yet we cannot sit idly by and allow these vipers to run their game on us without even raising a dead finger in opposition.

It is very clear that there is no way left for us to offer any opposition through the traditional political machinery. These merciless demagogues have so firmly grasped this machinery in their clutches that even the white supporters of McCarthy and Kennedy got all the fat whipped off their heads in Chicago when they tried to oppose the mad dog power play of meathead Humphrey.

Our only recourse is to join in a second Boston Tea Party in order to blow their game. In order to blow their minds, we must chart our own course, a new course designed to manifest how we feel about the insufferable political manipulation and chicanery that has made the national election into a circus devoid even of the saving grace of humor.

This shit is not funny. These pigs are plotting our death. These vicious reprobates, conniving scoundrels are plotting genocide against us. What do you think this featherweight, featherbrain Alabama racist, George Wallace, has up his sleeve for niggers? Extermination. The final solution to the Negro problem.

We don't have to go for that. That's not our issue. That is not the goal towards which black people have been struggling, dying, for these painful four hundred years. Our fight is for freedom, for liberation, by any means necessary, as Brother Malcolm put it.

Brother Malcolm also said that it's gotta be the ballot or the bullet. The pigs of the power structure have taken off their masks and revealed themselves to be precisely what we have always known them to be. Murderers, liars, miserable genocidal wretches.

These pigs themselves have already closed down the polling places, the ballot boxes, in so far as any meaningful solution to the black man's problems is concerned. Right on!

Are we to lie down and grovel on our bellies, on our knees, like a begging Lazarus, hoping that these fiends will toss us a few crumbs when they introduce another bullshit four year program into the pigpen of the United States Congress? Fuck these motherfuckers! Let's go for ourselves. Let's go for what we know.

And what do we know? We know, in the words of Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, that the spirit of the people is greater than the pigs' technology.

They seek to deprive us of life, of our human rights, of a future, through their rigged technological political crap game. Only snake eyes are on the loaded dice for us within the confines of the American political system.

So there's nothing left for us to do but to break up this crap game, to pick our money up off the wood and demand a brand new pair of dice from the house.

Let the pigs dance a jig to the star spangled banner. Let us do the dog in the streets. Let the pigs of the power structure put each other through these asinine charges and let us put all the pigs through a final change.

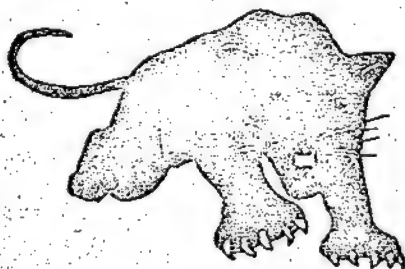
Let us join together with all those souls in Babylon who are straining for the birth of a new day. A revolutionary generation is on the scene.

There are men and women, human beings, in Babylon today. Disenchanted, alienated white youth, the hippies, the yippies, and all the unnamed dropouts from the white man's burden are our allies in this human cause. The entire anti-capitalist, anti-imperialist world of mankind is with us.

Let us manifest our solidarity with them. Let us say loud and clear that we are not going to accept four more years of Slavery, Suffering and Death under the hooves of racist pigs.

Until this house is set in order, let us plant our tent on the fighting words of Brother Robert Williams: "America is a house on fire. Freedom now or let it burn, let it burn."

Eldridge Cleaver,  
Minister of Information,  
Black Panther Party;  
Presidential Candidate,  
Peace and Freedom Party





Come into the streets on Nov. 3, election day. Vote with your feet. Rise up and abandon the creeping meatball! Demand the bars be open. Make music and dance at every red light. A festival of life in the streets and parks throughout the world. The American election represents death, and we are alive.

Come all you rebels, youth spirits, rock minstrels, bomb throwers, bank robbers, peacock freaks, toe worshippers, poets, street folk, liberated women, professors and body snatchers: it is election day and we are everywhere.

Don't vote in a jackass-elephant-cracker circus. Let's vote for ourselves. Me for President. We are the revolution. We will strike and boycott the election and create our own reality.

Can you dig it: in every metropolis and hamlet of America boycotts, strikes, sit-ins, pickets, lie-ins, pray-ins, feel-ins, piss-ins at the polling places.

Nobody goes to work. Nobody goes to school. Nobody votes. Everyone becomes a life actor of the street doing his thing, making the revolution by freeing himself and fucking up the system.

Ministers dragged away from polling places. Free chicken and ice cream in the streets. Thousands of kazoos, drums, tambourines, triangles, pots and pans, trumpets, street fairs, firecrackers - a symphony of life on a day of death. LSD in the drinking water.

Let's parade in the thousands to the places where the votes are counted and let murderous racists feel our power.

Force the National Guard to protect every polling place in the country. Brush your teeth in the streets. Organize a sack race. Join the rifle club of your choice. Freak out the pigs with exhibitions of snake dancing and karate at the nearest pig pen.

Release a Black Panther in the Justice Department. Hold motorcycles races a hundred yards from the polling places. Fly an American flag out of every house so confused voters can't find the polling places. Wear costumes. Take a burning draft card to Spiro Agnew.



Stall for hours in the polling places trying to decide between Nixon and Humphrey and Wallace. Take your clothes off. Put wall posters up all over the city. Hold block parties. Release hundreds of greased pigs in pig uniforms downtown.

Check it out in Europe and throughout the world thousands of students will march on the USA embassies demanding to vote in the election cause Uncle Pig controls the world. No domination without representation.

Let's make 2-300 Chicago's on election day.

On election day let's pay tribute to rioters, anarchists, Commies, runaways, draft dodgers, acid freaks, snipers, beatniks, deserters, Chinese spies. Let's exorcise all politicians, generals, publishers, businessmen, Popes, American Legion, AMA, FBI, narcos, informers.

And then on Inauguration Day Jan. 20 we will bring our revolutionary theater to Washington to inaugurate Pigasus, our pig, the only honest candidate, and turn the White House into a crash pad. They will have to put Nixon's hand on the bible in a glass cage.

Begin now: resist oppression as you feel it. Organize and begin the word of mouth communication that is the basis of all conspiracies. Coordinate information and ideas by writing to Youth International Party, %Eldridge Cleaver, Ramparts Magazine, 495 Beach St., San Francisco, California, 94133.

Every man a revolution! Every small group a revolutionary center! We will be together on election day. Yippie!!!

Stewart E. Albert

Abby Hoffman

Jerry Rubin



APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
Also Known As  
Black Panther Party for Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality", to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service", states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAPP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

APPENDIX



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATION SECTION

NOV 1 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC

b6  
b7C

FBI SACTO

11:49 AM DEFERRED 11/1/68 CLV

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-9599) SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

FROM: SACRAMENTO (157-291) (RUC) 1P

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. RM - BPP. 00: SF.

RE SAN FRANCISCO TELETYPE OCTOBER TWENTYFOUR LAST AND  
SACRAMENTO TELETYPE TO SAN FRANCISCO OCTOBER TWENTYNINE LAST.

ON OCTOBER THIRTYONE LAST, [REDACTED] UNIVERSITY OF THE  
PACIFIC (UOP), STOCKTON, CALIFORNIA, ADVISED THAT CLEAVER POSTPONED  
HIS APPEAENCE AT UOP FROM OCTOBER TWENTYNINE LAST TO NOVEMBER  
ONE, GIVING THE EXCUSE THAT HE WAS ILL. ON OCTOBER THIRTY ONE,  
CLEAVER CANCELLED HIS APPEARANCE AT UOP, STATING IT CONFLICTED WITH  
A COURT APPEARANCE. [REDACTED] ADVISED CLEAVER NOW HAS NO PLANS  
SPEAK ON THE UOP CAMPUS. HE UNDERSTANDS CLEAVER'S FEES FOR  
SPEAKING ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES IS FIFTEEN HUNDRED DOLLARS AND HE  
SUSPECTS THAT UOP WILL NOT BE ABLE TO RAISE THIS SUM TO BRING  
HIM ON THE CAMPUS.

THE ABOVE IS BEING FURNISHED FOR THE INFORMATION OF THE  
BUREAU AND SAN FRANCISCO.

LHM WILL NOT BE SUBMITTED.

END.

MKA

FBI WASH DC

54 NOV - 8 1968

b6  
b7C

REC-35

11 NOV 4 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-01-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251) DATE: 10/3/68

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

SUBJECT: LEROY EDDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-01-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

Re Omaha letter to San Francisco, dated 8/29/68,  
which enclosed a tape recording of Subject's speech which he  
gave at Fontenelle Park, Omaha, Nebraska, on 8/24/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 8 copies of an LHM,  
suitable for dissemination.

Speech was taped by radio station KBON, Omaha,  
Nebraska, who provided a copy to the Omaha Police Department.  
[redacted] and [redacted] of the Omaha  
Police Department subsequently provided a copy to the Omaha  
Office.

SAs [redacted]  
[redacted] of the Omaha Division all attended and heard Subject  
deliver the speech, which has been transcribed and is  
included in the enclosed LHM.

In view of the fact that enclosed LHM contains  
only the speech made by CLEAVER and the entire speech is  
peppered with obscenities, it has been marked obscene and  
transmitted in a sealed envelope.

b6  
b7C

2 - Bureau (ENC. 8) (RM)  
2 - San Francisco  
FL:mb  
(4)

REC-100

100-447251-104

1 AAG [unclear] by letter 10/14/68  
3-8-804  
11-5

AGENCY: ACSI, [unclear], SEC. SERV.,

DEPT: [unclear] IDIU CD [unclear]

HOW FORW: 10/9/68

DATE FORW: [unclear]

BY: [unclear]

RACIAL INT. SECT.



5010-108-02

71 NOV 7 1968 Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

October 3, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-01-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

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b7C  
b7D

The following is a transcript of a speech delivered by Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Peace and Freedom Party presidential candidate and Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party (BPP), on August 24, 1968, at Fontenelle Park in Omaha, Nebraska. The occasion for the speech was an attempt by the Nebraska Peace and Freedom Party to hold a convention to obtain signatures to a petition so that the Nebraska Peace and Freedom Party could be placed on the Nebraska ballot in the forthcoming national election. The source of the speech is [redacted] and [redacted] of the Omaha Police Department.

A characterization of the BPP is contained in the appendix.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

100-447251-104

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-03-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

## Domestic Intelligence Division

## INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 10/19/68

Attached relates to a speech given by Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, of the Black Panther Party, at American University, Washington, D. C., on 10/18/68.

Cleaver referred to the President and Presidential candidates in obscene and derogatory terms. He referred to the Director as using his job for a wrong purpose because his men are informing on citizens who wish only to have a voice in their own lives.

Cleaver is on parole in California after serving eight years for assault with deadly weapon (attempted rape). He has been speaking at colleges in West and East for the past several weeks. Speeches have been filled with obscenities and have included revolutionary statements which are being referred to Department.

Copies of attached furnished to the Criminal Division and Inter-Division Information Unit of the Department. Also being furnished the Attorney General.

JGD:jcm



AAG

~~SECRET~~

FBI

b6  
b7C

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

DATE: 12-02-2005

Date: 10/18/68

CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL

PLAINTEXT

Transmit the following in ~~PLAIN~~ (1)

12-02-2030

(Type in plaintext or code)

TELETYPE

URGENT

Via

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED (PLAINTEXT)

WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

TO: DIRECTOR AND SAC, WSAF FRANCISCO (1)

FROM: SAC, WFO (157-2026)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. RM - BPP.*Racial Matter - Black Panther Party*

A SOURCE WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE PAST ADVISED THAT CAPTIONED SUBJECT APPEARED FOUR PM THIS DATE AT AMERICAN UNIVERSITY (AU), WASHINGTON, D.C. (WDC) FOR SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT. SPEECH SPONSORED BY AU'S QUOTE UNIVERSITY AND REVOLUTION UNQUOTE COURSE UNDER THE DIRECTION OF SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL SERVICE ASSISTANT DEAN GARY WEAVER, STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS) AND ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN AND AFRO DASH AMERICAN STUDENTS AT AU.

REC 45

100-441251-105

- 2- Bureau
- 3- Teletype Unit
- 3- WFO

(1- 157-1956 BLACK PANTHER PARTY) OCT 31 10 30 AM '68  
 (1- 100-47754 STUDENT AGITATION AT AMERICAN UNIVERSITY)  
 (1- 100-48062 PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY)

RNW:blm

(8)

XEROX

OCT 1968

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

COPY SENT TO MR. TOLSON

Approved

b6  
b7C

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

~~SECRET~~

Per

~~SECRET~~

F B I

Date:

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(Priority)WFO 157-2026  
PAGE TWO

PROGRAM HELD IN WOODS DASH BROWN OUTDOOR THEATER WITH ABOUT FIFTEEN HUNDRED IN ATTENDANCE. AUDIENCE MOSTLY WHITE COLLEGE AGE. CLEAVER INTRODUCED BY DENNIS SINCLAIR (PHONETIC) WHITE MALE WHO IDENTIFIED SELF AS NATIONAL COORDINATOR OF PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY (PFP)

CLEAVER SPOKE ABOUT FORTY DASH FIVE MINUTES AND WAS WELL RECEIVED BY AUDIENCE. MINOR HECKLING ATTEMPTS CUT OFF QUICKLY BY CLEAVER WITH OBSCENE COMMENTS ABOUT HECKLERS.

CLEAVER DENOUNCED WDC AS THE HOME OF THE PIGS AND ALL THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES AS PLOTTERS IN THE MASS MURDER OF THE RACIST, FACIST ESTABLISHMENT. HE SAID THAT ALL PEOPLES OF THE WORLD MUST STAND UP TO THE RACIST FACIST PIGS WHO WOULD OPPRESS THEM. THE PIGS SHOULD TAKE NOTICE THAT THEY ARE NO LONGER FREE TO BEAT, MAIM AND CRIPPLE ANY MAN BECAUSE HE IS IN THE MINORITY. THE OPPRESSED WILL REMEMBER AND A DAY OF RETALIATION WILL COME WHEN THE PIGS WILL BE HUNTED DOWN

~~SECRET~~

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

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Per \_\_\_\_\_



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Date:

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(Priority)WFO 157-2026  
PAGE THREE

LIKE THE JEWS HUNTED EICHMAN. THEN THERE WILL BE TRIBUNALS TO JUDGE THOSE WHO HAVE COMMITTED CRIMES AGAINST THE PEOPLE.

CLEAVER CITED J. EDGAR HOOVER OF THE FBI AS A MAN WHO IS USING HIS JOB FOR A WRONG PURPOSE BY HAVING HIS MEN SNEAKING ABOUT HIDING IN THE BUSHES AND PASSING THEMSELVES OFF AS THINGS THAT THEY ARE NOT IN ORDER TO INFORM ON THE CITIZENS WHO SEEK ONLY TO HAVE A VOICE IN THEIR OWN LIVES. HOOVER AND OTHERS LIKE HIM SHOULD BE RELEGATED TO A MUSEUM.

CLEAVER CLAIMED THAT THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) IS DISTORTED BY THE PRESS. WHITES SEE IT AS A RACIST GROUP WHICH WOULD GO INTO THE SUBURBS AND SHOOT WHITE BABIES, BUT IN FACT THE BPP HAS NEVER HARMED ANYONE EXCEPT THOSE POLICE WHO SEEK TO OPRESS THEM WITH THE POWER OF THE GUN.

~~SECRET~~

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge



F B I

Date:

~~SECRET~~Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)WFO 157-2026  
PAGE FOUR

HE CALLED FOR BLACK POWER FOR BLACKS, WHITE POWER FOR WHITES, RED POWER FOR REDS AND YELLOW POWER FOR MAO TSE TUNG, HO CHI MINH AND ALL THEIR YELLOW BROTHERS.

CLEAVER DENOUNCED THE CAPITALISTIC SYSTEM AS EVIL BECAUSE IT USES THE PROFIT MOTIVE AS AN INCENTIVE FOR THE POWERFUL AND RICH TO OPPRESS THE POOR. HE CITED THE VIETNAM WAR AS AN EXAMPLE.

HE CONTINUOUSLY REFERRED TO THE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES AND THE PRESIDENT IN OBSCENE AND DEROGATORY TERMS EXPLAINING THAT HE WOULD RATHER USE WORDS WHICH WERE UNDERSTOOD THAN RESORT TO THE HYPOCRITICAL DOUBLE TALK OF THE POLITICIANS.

CLEAVER'S TALK ENDED AT ABOUT FIVE FORTY DASH FIVE PM. THERE WERE NO INCIDENTS NOR DISTURBANCES CONNECTED WITH THE PROGRAM.

ADMINISTRATIVE

RE WFO TEL OCTOBER FOURTEEN LAST; SAN FRANCISCO TEL OCTOBER SIXTEEN LAST.

~~SECRET~~

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

~~SECRET~~  
FBI

Date:

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(Type in plaintext or code)Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)WFO 157-2026  
PAGE FIVE

CLEAVER APPEARANCE AT HOWARD UNIVERSITY THIS PM, WDC,  
WILL BE REPORTED SEPARATELY. SPEECH COVERED BY PRESS AND  
TELEVISION. WFO FOLLOWING, WILL ATTEMPT TO OBTAIN TAPES.

SOURCES: b1  
b6  
b7C  
b7D (S)

LHM TO FOLLOW.

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU  
*and Criminal Div*

CC-

~~MR.~~ MR. SULLIVANMR.   
~~200M 835 940~~b6  
b7C~~SECRET~~Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60303 AUC  
Domestic Intelligence Division  
TAM/MLT/EHL

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 10/18/68

Attached pertains to speeches  
made by Eldridge Cleaver of the  
Black Panther Party and others  
10/17/68, at New York City.

Copy of attached sent Inter-  
Division Information Unit of  
Department and Attorney General.

JFM:chs

*WES/m  
jacks*

VIA TELETYPE

OCT 18 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach ✓  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop ✓  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Sullivan ✓  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

WA...07

FBI NEW YORK

5-30 PM URGENT 10-18-68 WPK

TO DIRECTOR (PLAINTEXT)

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-161321 3P

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER; RACIAL MATTERS-BLACK PANTHER PARTY. (BPP)

b6  
b7c

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, RELIABLE, FURNISHED FOLLOWING INFORMATION OCTOBER EIGHTEEN, INSTANT. ELDRIDGE CLEAVER WAS FEATURED SPEAKER AT MANHATTAN CENTER, NYC, ON THURSDAY, OCTOBER SEVENTEEN, LAST. THIS AFFAIR COMMENCED AT NINE PM AND WAS SPONSORED BY THE PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY, NYC. ABOUT SIX HUNDRED PEOPLE ATTENDED INCLUDING SOME TWENTY MEMBERS OF BPP WHO SERVED AS SECURITY GUARDS. AMONG THE SPEAKERS WERE DAVID MC REYNOLDS, CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATE, PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY; JUDY MAGE, VICE PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE, PEACE AND FREEDOM PARTY AND WILLIAM KUNSTLER, NYC ATTORNEY. SUBSTANCE OF THE SPEECHES WAS A DENUNCIATION OF UNITED STATES INVOLVEMENT.

END PAGE ONE

RECEIVED OCT 18 1968

56 NOV 18 1968

PAGE TWO

IN VIETNAM, OPPOSITION TO MILITARY DRAFT AND THE SPACE PROGRAM. MONEY EXPENDED ON THIS PROGRAM AND IN THE VIETNAM WAR SHOULD BE CHanneled INTO CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMS IN HOUSING AND EDUCATION. [REDACTED] OUTLINED THE VARIOUS PROSECUTIONS AGAINST H. RAP BROWN, <sup>former</sup> FOMER CHAIRMAN OF SNCC. HE CHARACTERIZED THESE LEGAL ACTIONS AS RIDICULOUS AND UNJUST AND POINTED TO THE DAN<sup>g</sup>ERS TODAY OF THE "RIGHTIST MOVEMENT" IN THE COUNTRY.

b6  
b7C

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER MADE HIS APPEARANCE AT MANHATTAN CENTER AT TEN THIRTY PM HIS GENERAL THEME WAS OPPOSITION TO THE CURRENT PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES. HE URGED PEOPLE NOT TO VOTE SINCE THERE WERE NO FIT CANDIDATES. ELDREDGE CLEAVER WAS CRITICAL OF THE NYCPD, THE NATIONAL GUARD, THE MILITARY DRAFT AND EXPRESSED OPPOSITION TO UNITED STATES INVOLVEMENT IN VIETNAM. CLEAVER CLAIMED HE WANTED FREEDOM FOR EVERYBODY DASH BLACK AND WHITE AND SAID HE IS IN FAVOR OF WHITE POWER AND BLACK POWER.

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

ADMINISTRATIVE

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE IS

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*memo*  
~~LHM~~ FOLLOWS.

END

WA....RNK

FBI WASH DC

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU

*Xerox-Rosen*

cc MR.   
ROOM 836 9&U

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b7C

VIA TELETYPE  
OCT 25 1968  
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

PARAPHRASE IF DISSEMINATED

R 18

URGENT 10-25-68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

TO DIRECTOR AND SAN FRANCISCO

FROM MILWAUKEE

LEROEY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RM - BPP.

RE SAN FRANCISCO TELETYPE TO BUREAU, OCTOBER TWO FOUR LAST.

ANNOUNCEMENT HANDED OUT ON UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN  
CAMPUS, OCTOBER TWO FOUR LAST, SET FORTH CLEAVER UNABLE  
TO APPEAR AT UNIVERSITY THAT DATE SINCE HE HAD  
PREVIOUSLY SIGNED CONTRACT TO APPEAR IN COLORADO.  
HOPE EXPRESSED, HOWEVER, THAT CLEAVER COULD APPEAR AT  
UNIVERSITY AT MADISON WHEN HE COMES TO MIDWEST IN NOVEMBER.  
IT WAS FURTHER SET FORTH THAT BOBBY SEALE, CO - FOUNDER  
AND CHAIRMAN OF BLACK PANTHER PARTY WAS INTERESTED IN  
COMING TO WISCONSIN AFTER HIS CAMPAIGN FOR STATE SENATE  
IN CALIF. WAS OVER.

MILWAUKEE WILL FURNISH COVER REQUESTED IN RETEL IF  
CLEAVER SPEAKS THIS DIVISION.

RECEIVED: 1:28 PM FJB

5 NOV 1968  
ROOM 836 9&D

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b7C



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-2323) (P)

SUBJECT LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

DATE: 10/21/68

Enclosed for the Bureau are three copies of a newspaper article. One copy is enclosed for San Francisco.

The October 11, 1968, Free Press, an avant garde newspaper in the Los Angeles area, contained an article entitled "Eldridge: Regan is a punk, sissy, coward". This article reports a partial text of subject's speech at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) on 10/4/68.

This matter has been submitted to the Bureau in a letterhead memorandum (LHM) form under Los Angeles letter to the Director dated 10/16/68. Tapes of this speech have also been obtained and forwarded under separate letter.

3/26/91 SP7MAC/pw 277839  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-30-88 BY SP1A/G6/m  
# 291742 405, A3

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b7c

ENCLOSURE

- 3 - Bureau (Encl. 3) (RM)
- 1 - San Francisco (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles

RHR/lel  
(5)

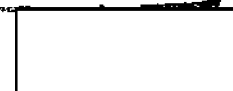
EX-108

REC-8

100-447251/108

1 OCT 24 1968

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b7c



RACIAL MATTER

OCT 29 1968

XEROX

NOV 12 1968

100-382196

(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Eldridge: Reagan is a punk, sissy, coward

Two weeks ago last Friday the mighty Regents of the University of California decided that Eldridge Cleaver could not give a series of ten lectures to students in a course for credit. Last Friday Cleaver spoke to an audience of more than 7,000 students in the Edwin Pauley Memorial Basketball Pavilion and before long he will have spoken at every UC campus in the state.

Governor Ronald Reagan stirred up a storm of controversy over Sociology 139X, the class Cleaver will teach, and forced him before the attention of the media. In reporting his speeches the daily press paid close atten-

tion to Cleaver's choice of language, but went out of the way to avoid reporting what he said:

Cleaver's speech began:

"Good afternoon, my fellow human beings.

"I want to thank those who are responsible for inviting me down here. I want to thank Mickey Mouse Reagan and Donald Duck Rafferty for making it possible. Before I go any further I want to get into this by saying what some people don't want to hear and others do not mind: Fuck Ronald Reagan, Fuck Ronald Reagan.

"Here we have a grade B character actor, who swindled his way into the governor's mansion by very quietly and very beautifully parroting the scripts put before him by some criminal writers from Hollywood or Disneyland or somewhere funny like that.

"He wants everybody to know and to behave in the manner prescribed by our governor. Our governor, our lord, our master, our leader and teacher—oink.

"Students at the University of California, along with some faculty members, invited me to participate in a series of lectures. They asked me to deliver ten lectures. I wouldn't have to change what I had been saying, but perhaps structure it a little bit so that it could be moulded into a package that could be brought off of the streets and into the quiet, peaceful halls of higher education.

"You would have thought they invited me down there to rape all the white girls and kill all the white men. Ronald Reagan says that it's a disgrace for a man with my background, a disreputable character like myself to be invited onto a campus where I

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

Page 25  
Free Press  
Los Angeles,  
California

Date: October 11, 1968  
Edition: Weekly

Author:  
Editor: Art Kunkin  
Title: "Eldridge: Reagan  
is a punk, sissy,  
coward"

Character: Racial Matter  
or 157-2323

Classification:  
Submitting Office: Los Angeles

☐ Being Investigated

2/13/68 SSA9803 RDD/SK 405, 193  
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11-30-88 BY SP1A/C/6mm

#291742

100-447251 ENCLOSURE 108

might corrupt the morals of the youth. I say that Reagan and all the pigs of the power structure have corrupted the very air that we breathe.

"What we are trying to do is save ourselves and perhaps save the world. Rescue this funky, corrupt polluted country from the death role in which it has been placed by old, decrepit, avaricious, crazy, dizzy, loony, kooky, corrupt people who want to rule the world, who want to rule the people of this country and who want to make us believe that they own the state of California and that they own the people of the state of California. They have forgotten that they are nothing but public servants, that they owe their first duty to the public.

"They are nothing but public servants and they have no right to impose their dimwitted will upon the people. The people don't have to go for it. I'm not gonna go for it.

"I say Ronald Reagan is a punk, a sissy and a coward. I challenge him to a duel to the death right now. He can choose his own weapons. He can choose a baseball bat, a knife, a gun or a marshmallow. I will beat him to death with a marshmallow, cause he's a punk.

"He's a coward and he won't do that. He won't confront that. What he does, since he's the Chief Executive of the state of California, he turns to the machinery of oppression beneath him, namely to the department of corrections—to the parole officers and my parole officer in particular and tells them, twists their arms to force them (and you really don't have to force THOSE pigs) and he gets them to revoke my parole. Just as he twisted the arms of the courts and of any other agency under his control to get rid of Eldridge Cleaver and send him back to the penitentiary. Well I'm not going. Fuck him in his ass. Fuck him.

"I went to the penitentiary to investigate it for you. You might call it a field trip, an extended safari and I didn't like it. During the time that I was behind those walls I had the pleasure of visiting every part of the prison from the hospital to solitary confinement, and I don't like any of it, not even the medicine.

"So let him go to the penitentiary. Let him take his mama to the penitentiary. I want to stay out here where the people are and

let the penitentiary be for the pigs, for that's who belongs in it. I have been rehabilitated. I am not gonna bother no more citizens. All of my hostility, all of the hatred that I have in my heart, all of the bitterness I have in my heart—and I have it—is for the pigs and the power structure, the machinery of oppression and the fucked up system that has fucked up the world and fucked up our lives, and that we have to deal with for ourselves and for posterity whether they like it or not.

"And it is necessary for us to realize that we have three categories of pigs to deal with. First and foremost, deepest in the pit of evil, we have the avaricious, greedy businessmen, those who own the planet Earth, those who own the resources in the planet Earth, those who own us.

"In the second category we have the hypocritical, demagogic politicians. In the third category we have the ignorant, racist pig cops, your local police, the gestapo, occupying armies, the strongarm forces of the power structure. These are our enemies, broadly outlined. They have detailed categories that we can get into, but those are our enemies, those are the forces that have to be dealt with. And we have to start by

letting them know that we know that every one of them came out of their mother's pussy naked and with nothin', cryin' into this world like everybody else. They didn't come here with any blue chip stock pinned to their asses. They didn't come here with any deeds

(Continued on page 28)

(Continued from page 25)

and trusts giving them eternal and perpetual ownership of the earth. No. They came here like I came here. They came here like you came here. And they are going to leave like we're going to leave, depending on how the shit breaks.

"Because we happen to know that there are more people in this country than there are pigs. And we don't have to be afraid of the pigs. All they can do is kill us, and lock us up in their jails. But they can't go on killing us and they won't be able to keep us in their jails if the people of this country would stand up and tell them: 'No more, motherfucker, no more! We're not going to have it no more!'"

"The McCarthyites and the Kennedyites and those who are not really off into the right-wing bag—I think they got the message in Chicago. Racist pig Daley, Mayor Daley the butcher, the murderer, released his pigs on the people who had come to express their political position, helping to insure that meathead Humphrey would still maintain his pig-like grasp on the reins of power in the Democratic party. Let him have the Democratic party. Let us take the Democratic party and the Republican party and all the pigs that stand with both those parties and let us dump them into the garbage can of history where they belong, and let's bury it where we bury the dead!"

"Because if you want to talk about tomorrow, if you want to talk about the future, if you want to talk about the 21st century, then you're gonna have to start talkin' about corralling these international gangsters who are putting the world into a position where there's going to be universal death, not just for the niggers. When you look at the world, the world is no longer a far-flung planet. The earth is a neighborhood.

won't need a crystal ball to tell us what's in store for us when we see General Hershey, the man who sends greetings to the young black brothers in the ghetto to tellin' them, 'Come on boy, go over there in Vietnam and kill some of those niggers for me.'

"We don't need a crystal ball to read it when we see that same man come out and endorse a feather-weight, feather-brained, pint-sized punk, racist dog like George Wallace of Alabama. We know what's behind that. And if we needed any other proof, all

we'd have to do is check the news out and see that general Curtis LeMay, the god of the Strategic Air Command, has been selected by this pint-sized idiot to be his running mate—running mate to where? Where in the fuck does he think he's going?

"He's running and he's better keep running. And those other pigs; Oink Nixon and Oink Humphrey, Oink all of them... all of them had better start running because there is a storm brewing over America and the people are going to rise up and say: 'Up against the wall Motherfucker, because you done wrong.'

"We're not going to ask them. The Regents aren't going to pass a resolution instructing themselves to get up against the wall. The oppressor has no rights which the oppressed are bound to respect and don't forget it. They ain't got nothin' coming. They ain't got nothing coming.

"We want to make a distinction, because we can't go around speaking categorically if we start talking about ethnic groups, races and people and things, because some of your allies might be turned against you. So we want to make it very clear to all the inhabitants of Disneyland, Los Angeles, Chief Reddin's pigpen, snorty Yorty's pigpen. We want to make it clear that we recognize that the Black Panther party, Black people alone, cannot deal with this. That its going to take an awakening generation, a revolutionary generation of white people, young white people who are brave enough and willing to face

"It's a neighborhood, its communications and transportation are up tight and everything is around the corner including the specter of genocide, which black people have their eyes on.

"We see what the racists in this country are cookin' up for us. We see the challenges of the future, the challenges of the present—to get out of all of these bags that we've been in—to look beyond the ethnocentrism, the xenophobia that we've all been indoctrinated with to recognize that the world is a neighborhood, a community, and then move to eradicate every obstacle in our way to make it that

way so we can have peace on this earth!

"It is a basic principle that every man, woman and child on the face of the planet earth has an absolute right to the highest and the best standard of living that human knowledge and technology is capable of providing. Period. Every man, woman and child, I don't care what color he is, or what country he's in. It is enough that he is born into this world and therefore he has the right to live. It is the responsibility of the organized machinery of society to do everything that it can to insure and to guarantee that everybody gets their issue without no bullshit about it.

"And we are gonna have it that way. That's the way it's gonna be. Because the revolutionary people of the world are saying that we're gonna be part of the democratic destruction of the world or we're going to be part of the democratic regeneration of this burnt-out planet.

"There aint gonna be no two ways about it. It's gonna be us or it ain't gonna be nobody. It's gonna be us together, or it's gonna be chaos in Babylon all over the planet earth, and we've got to understand that. This is the last ground. Everybody is face-to-face with the enemy and toe-to-toe. We've got to learn to make distinctions and somehow manifest where we are, so we can know who is the enemy and who is not the enemy.

"We can start out right now with a song that I have written entitled: 'Fuck Ronald Reagan.'

Cleaver admitted that he is not much of a choir director. Then he led six "Fuck Ronald Reagan" cheers in the UCLA basketball pavilion. By the sixth try the cheerleader had most of the crowd shouting with him. Then he went on talking about power, racism and politics.)

"All power to the people. Black power to Black people. Red power to Red people. Brown power to Brown people. Yellow power to Yellow people. White power to White people. That's not what you have now. You have pig power now. If you have White power you wouldn't have the pigs on the Board of Regents inflicting their will on you.

"The people are insulted now by public servants who have become so arrogant. Take Mickey Mouse Rafferty with his PhD in Physical Education, who has based his career on taking all mention of communism out of the textbooks. We already have a song and dance man in the Senate. Now we're going to have a volleyball coach to decide over our lives. They say the people get the rulers they deserve. I'll be goddamned if we deserve that.

"Every people and every ethnic group has an absolute right to be in control of its own destiny.

"It is not man's destiny to be an exploiter and butcher of the people. We want to bring the boys home, but we don't want to bring them home to put them on the police force. We're not going to bring them home to do to us what they do in Vietnam. The boys don't want to murder people. We've got to welcome them home because we need a people's militia.

"We have to break with the past. We are going to have to dance to a tune that does not insult the humanity of any one.

"It is possible for White people not to be racists. White supremacy is over. It is possible for everybody not to be a racist. It is possible to get along. It is possible for everyone on the same planet earth to live together without being at everybody's throats and if they don't believe they ought to give up. It's possible for me to get along with Ronald Reagan if he doesn't try to tell me what to do, where I can go and if he doesn't force me to watch his movies.

"If we don't have that faith we can just let go, take acid, get drunk and let the pigs have it."

(This second part of Cleaver's speech has been shortened for reasons of space.)

1 - Mr.

b6  
b7C

*for*  
SAC, Sacramento (157-610)

11/1/68

REC-47

Director, FBI (100-447251) - *109*

**LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER**  
RM - BPP

*EX-102*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

Reurlet 10/16/68 which furnished a transcript of the subject's speech 10/2/68.

The Bureau desires to furnish this transcript to the Department but it was not submitted in a form suitable for dissemination because it is typed entirely in capital letters and contains numerous misspellings.

A copy of the transcript is returned herewith. Corrections have been marked on this copy and you are requested to promptly submit a properly typed copy.

Enclosure

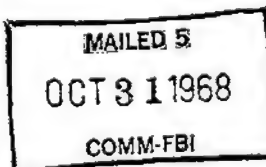
RMH:mfs

(4) *mfs*

NOTE:

Transcript is 48 pages long and, therefore, should be retyped in the field rather than at the Bureau. Enclosure sent in "obscene" envelope.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

64 NOV 1 4 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

DATE October 16, 1968

FROM : SAC, SACRAMENTO (157-610)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

SUBJECT:

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

SYMPOSIUM  
RACISM IN AMERICA  
Sacramento State College  
Sacramento, California  
9/27/68 - 10/4/68  
RM

b6  
b7C

Re Sacramento letter to Bureau 10/15/68.

Enclosed herewith is the complete transcription of  
CLEAVER's speech on October 2, 1968, at captioned symposium per  
request set forth in your airtel October 9, 1968.

- 3 - Bureau (RM) (Enc. 1)  
(1 - envelope)  
2 - Sacramento  
GMS:grh  
(5)

Sealed  
ENCLOSURE  
Obscene  
ENC. BEHIND FILE

EX-102

REC-47

100-447251-109  
11-5  
15 OCT 18 1968

RACISM INT. SECT.

XEROX  
NOV 6 1968

UNREC COPY FILED IN 157-6-67

EX-102



1 - Mr.

b6  
b7c

SAC, San Francisco (100-55520)

11/4/68

EX 110  
Director, FBI (100-447251)

82  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

ReLAlet 10/17/68.

The tape recordings described in relet are enclosed. As pointed out by Los Angeles, the quality of these recordings is poor and it is unlikely that an adequate transcript could be prepared from them. They should be retained, however, until it is determined that their retention would serve no useful purpose.

Enclosures - 3

1 - Los Angeles (157-2323)

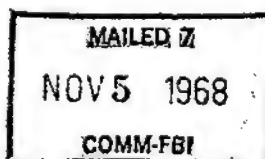
RMH:rel  
(5) *rel*

NOTE:

Tape recordings made of subject's speeches 9/26/68, at University of California, Irvine and at UCLA 10/4/68. LHMs concerning these speeches have been submitted.

NOV 2 3 22 PM '68

FBI  
REC'D-CIVILIAN



Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

35 NOV 14 1968

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

*Handwritten signature/initials*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 04-27-2006 BY 60309 AUC

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)AM/DCG/EHL

DATE: 10/17/68

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-2323)(P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM-BPP

Re the Bureau airtel to Los Angeles dated 10/9/68.

Enclosed to the Bureau are three (3) reels of tape recordings containing speeches made by LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER.

Tape number one is a copy of a tape obtained from

[redacted] California on 10/2/68.  
[redacted] a panel discussion on racial conditions in America held on 9/26/68 at the University of California at Irvine, California. One of the principal speakers on the panel was LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. [redacted] a tape recording of CLEAVER's remarks. [redacted] provided the original tape and a copy was made by Los Angeles Division. It is noted that the quality of the original tape was poor and it could not be clearly understood.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Tape number two is a copy of a tape made by [redacted] [redacted] attended a speech made by CLEAVER at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) on 10/4/68. Informant recorded CLEAVER's speech on both sides of four small reels of tape which were copied by Los Angeles Division. Informants tapes are difficult to understand in certain parts and omit segments of CLEAVER's speech caused by informant changing tapes.

b2  
b7D

In view of the lack of clarity of both tapes, they are being forwarded to the Bureau without transcripts.

- 3 - Bureau (Enc 3)(RM)  
1 - San Francisco (Info)(RM)  
1 - Los Angeles

RHR/jar  
(5)

10 OCT 22 1968

RECEIVED  
RACIAL INT. SECT.

SAC, San Francisco (100-55520)

11/6/68

Director, FBI (100-447251)

1 - Mr.

b6  
b7C

*N*  
**LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER**  
**RM - BPP**

Referral/Direct

Advise if information concerning the above allegations has come to your attention and, if not already done, furnish details to the Bureau. If allegations not previously received, contact your informants for information concerning them and advise the Bureau of the results.

Enclosure

RMH:ra

(4) *ra*

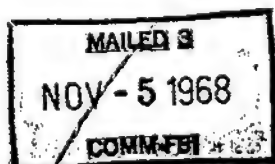
REC-40

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

*100-447251-111*

19 NOV 6 1968

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



MAIL ROOM ☒

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

*h h* *WA*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/10/1/EHL

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)

FROM : SAC, MIAMI (157-2646) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)  
RM

DATE: 10/22/68

b6  
b7C

*cleaner*

Re Miami letters to Bureau dated 9/16, 9/18, 9/23,  
10/8, 10/9 and 10/21/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 12 copies of an LHM  
dated and captioned as above.

Information copies are being furnished to San  
Francisco, Los Angeles and New York.

b2

The material referred to in this LHM was made  
available to the Miami Office by [redacted]

b2  
b7D

- ④ - Bureau (Enc. 12) (RM)  
(2 - 105-165706)  
(1 - 64-45716) (CUBAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITY IN THE U. S.)  
(1 - 157-8141) (FOREIGN INFLUENCE IN THE BLACK  
NATIONALIST MOVEMENT)  
1 - Los Angeles (157-1618) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)  
1 - New York (100-161993) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)  
1 - San Francisco (157-1204) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)  
4 - Miami  
(1 - 157-2646)  
(1 - 105-2138) (CUBAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITY IN U. S.)  
(1 - [redacted] Sub A)  
(1 - 157-2276) (FOREIGN INFLUENCE IN THE BLACK  
NATIONALIST MOVEMENT)

JJM:vva  
(11)

REC-65

NOT RECORDED  
170 NOV 6 1968

OCT 25

EX-101

b6  
b7C

56 NOV 8 1968

b2

ORIGINAL FILED IN  
105-165706-510



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. 157-2646

Miami, Florida  
October 22, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
(BPP)  
RACIAL MATTERS

Reference is made to a memorandum from this  
Bureau dated October 21, 1968.

The following is a summary of information  
concerning the captioned organization which appeared  
in "El Mundo," Havana, Cuba, on October 4, 1968. This  
newspaper operates under the complete control and direction  
of the Communist Party of Cuba.

Interview with Minister of Information of  
Black Panther Party

CLEAVER TALKS ON HIS ARREST  
AND NEWTON'S SENTENCE

by ALBERTO HERNANDEZ

They have just sentenced Huey to 15 years  
in prison on false charges. It was clear from the  
beginning that these were fabricated charges, and  
this was demonstrated by the fact that when the  
sentence was made known, Huey's lawyer went immediately  
to talk with him, but Huey had already been taken out  
of the courtroom. He was placed in a patrol car which  
took him straight to prison.

Even the police and the jailers knew ahead  
of time what would be the sentence against Newton.  
I know of my own experience, because I have been in  
prison, that when somebody is taken out of a court-  
room so quickly, it means that the verdict was known  
beforehand. This shows a clear case of collusion.  
Everybody agreed to send Huey to prison.

ENCLOSURE

100-447251-

Re: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

That same day, the Court of Appeals issued an order sending me back to prison. That is proof that they plan to cripple the leadership of the Black Panthers, and they hope in this way to destroy the organization.

(The communication was cut at this point by an "error" of the American telephone operator. We were connected again in a short time, thanks to the efforts of the Cuban operator.)

I have a good idea who broke our connection. I was saying that the District Court of Appeals ordered me to return to prison on parole violation...and this order was issued the same day that Huey was sentenced to 15 years in prison. My parole was revoked because of my public activities to demonstrate the political nature of the charges against Huey. And this was the first time I was involved in charges of parole violation. The only thing we have done is educate public opinion in the United States and the rest of the world, concerning the political nature of this attack on Huey P. Newton. And these activities angered the authorities, who are determined to eliminate those who want to spread the truth.

Nevertheless, this effort to send me to jail was blocked by a judge, who accepted a writ of habeas corpus which freed me from jail. However, the Parole Board people appealed this decision, and a higher court rejected this recourse. They did give me 60 days freedom, before returning to prison.

Convert the Streets of the U.S. into the Sierra Maestra

We still have certain legal ways of escape, and that is what we are exploring at the moment. However, once these legal avenues have been exhausted, our only remedy will be to use revolutionary methods. At this time, we will have the backing of the people, who have remained at our side during this entire process, and if the imperialists and the racists refuse us justice, the people will understand our actions and will support them.

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

We have passed the point where it makes sense to call on the courts to respect our rights, because there are racists in the courts who refuse us justice, and they do this without thinking that the eyes of the world are on them. They are shameless about rejecting public opinion. So, we are at the point of abandoning legal methods, i.e., calling on the courts. We feel that legal avenues have just about been exhausted, and the moment has come to convert the streets of the United States into a Sierra Maestra.

Things reached a point where they wanted me to leave my home, because my wife Kathleen purchased a pistol, and having a pistol violates the terms of my parole.

It was essential that my wife acquire this weapon, because the police recently shot at the windows of our offices, and moreover, the racists are ready to murder us.

Nevertheless, our lawyers told us that Kathleen is within her rights, guaranteed by the Constitution, to own a weapon, so that actually, the authorities are putting me in prison in order to take away my wife's right to possess a weapon with which to defend herself.

Another thing I want to clarify is the following: the young white students at the University of California invited me to give a course on racism in the United States. This brought about the intervention of the racist Governor of California, Ronald Reagan, who insisted that I not be permitted to speak to the students. Nevertheless, the students protested, and they insisted that I be given the opportunity to teach this course on racism in the United States. The University is run by men who are appointed for political reasons, and these gentlemen gave in to the demands of the Governor of California, but the students remained firm. And, in the midst of this crisis, the Court of Appeals ordered me to



RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

return to prison. Thus, this order appears to be motivated by political reasons.

### Huey Faces Johnson's Justice

We do not know if he will receive justice on this appeal, because all these judges bend to political pressure, and they are very similar to the judges who rejected Fidel Castro's appeal, applied Batista's "justice," and sent him to jail. In a similar fashion, they will apply Johnson's justice to Huey. There is really not much hope that the appeal will be favorable, but it is a way of exhausting all legal means in the eyes of the people. We will carry this appeal to the highest court in the country, and we will rouse the conscience of the people and show them that the only way to obtain justice for the people is for the people to be united and armed against the racist, decadent imperialist structure. This is the way we will fight, and Huey has said so himself. We are working on all fronts to gain freedom for Huey.

Even though there is an order sending me to prison within a few days, there is no way to make me go to jail when I have committed no crime. It does not appear to me to be my duty to go to the imperialist slaughterhouse like a tame sheep.

It is our duty to go to the rescue of our brothers, and to see that the news of how Negroes are treated in the United States is known all over the world.

During this electoral campaign, the racists and imperialists Nixon, Humphrey and Wallace are stirring up the Negro problem to incite the whites to vote for them. These men are ready to sacrifice anything to gain the presidency; they will sacrifice justice, the legitimate interests of the people-- they don't care about the people, merely money and power.

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

And the people, who have been watching the treatment given to Huey Newton, have also watched the attitude of these candidates, who deny rights to some, in order to win the election in November.

In the name of the Black Panther Party, in the name of Huey and the Negroes in the United States, I want to say that in spite of what they can do to us, in spite of the way they use the courts to deny us justice and send us to jail, they can never silence our revolutionary spirit, and they will only increase our opposition to this system. There will be no peace for humanity as a whole, there will be no security for people, until a system like imperialism has been liquidated and swept into the wastebasket of history.

They can take away our freedom, and even our lives, but the battle will go on, and increase until we achieve victory. We will conquer!

\* \* \*

#### THE DEATH OF FASCIST AGENT JOHN FREY

On October 28th last year, police agent John Frey appeared dead of a gunshot in Oakland, California. He was well known in the ghetto as one of the worst racists on the police force. Shortly before, he had advised by short wave: "I have a Panther car." At that period, the police in Oakland had distributed lists with license numbers of the cars of the Panthers (and of cars driven by their associates, white or black), in addition to photographs of Black Panther leaders to all police stations. On various occasions, the police had committed reprisals against the Panthers.

Officer Herbert Haines, the only witness to Frey's death, who had arrived at the spot as a reinforcement, stated that two Negro citizens were in the Panther car, one of them Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense.

RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

Haines said then that he saw no weapon in Huey's hands, although at the trial he stated that Newton had killed Frey and wounded him. Haines added that Newton and his companion fled. Nevertheless, hours later, Huey was taken to Kaiser Hospital, seriously wounded.

According to what was proved, in spite of the fact that Huey had four wounds in the abdomen and one wound in the thigh, the doctors refused to attend him until the police arrived. When the police arrived, the doctors permitted them to handcuff Huey on the operating table. Newton suffered badly, without medical attention. He even asked to be knocked out, to escape the pain.

Hours later, after surgery, Newton was taken to a hospital room, under heavy police guard. A policeman threatened to cut off his intravenous feeding tube. Another policeman pointed a gun at his head and said he would kill him, and then say he had been trying to escape. This policeman said later that he would not have shot, because Newton would die in the gas chamber.

During the time that Huey was in the hospital, the police guarding him mistreated him; they would jolt the bed, hoping to open his wounds; they hit him in the stomach until blood covered his bandages.

Newton was later transferred to San Quentin Prison, where he continued to receive medical treatment, and later he was taken to Alameda County Jail, on false charges.

So far, there has been no legal proof that Huey P. Newton killed Officer Frey. However, at the trial which ended last Friday, Newton was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

## APPENDIX

1

### BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF-DEFENSE (BPPSD)

A source advised that the Black Panther Party For Self-Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in Oakland, California, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality," to unite militant black youth, to determine the destiny of black communities, and to educate black people in African history. The political philosophy of the organization was taken from the writings of MAO TSE-TUNG of Communist China and black militant writers.

The official BPPSD publication "The Black Panther-Black Community News Service" indicates the leadership of the BPPSD advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in the violent revolutionary program to end oppression and to oppose the drafting of black men to fight in Vietnam.

A second source advised that in early 1967, SEALE, NEWTON, and their associates carried carbine rifles and holstered pistols in plain view on the streets of Oakland and elsewhere while on "defense patrols."

BOBBY GEORGE SEALE was one of the persons arrested by the Sacramento, California, Police Department on May 2, 1967, when members of the BPPSD invaded the California State Legislative Assembly in Sacramento while in session, carrying loaded guns to protest restrictions on the carrying of guns.

A Grand Jury of Alameda County, California, Oakland, California, on November 13, 1967, indicted HUEY PERCY NEWTON on charge of murder of an Oakland, California, police officer on October 28, 1967, in Oakland, California.

The first source advised that the headquarters office of the BPPSD at 5624 Grove Street, Oakland, California, is closed and that no membership meetings have been held since August, 1967.

The November 4, 1967, issue of "The Sun Reporter," a San Francisco, California, Negro community newspaper, states that a HUEY PERCY NEWTON defense fund has been established and that the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) through the national offices have pledged their complete and continuous support to the defense of HUEY PERCY NEWTON.

7\*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

TO: SAC, SAN DIEGO (Your file \_\_\_\_\_) DATE: 10/21/68

FROM: Director, FBI (Bufile and Serial 100-447251)

Room No. 980 804

SUBJECT: ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

RM-BPP

OO-SF

☒ Post in file and  
destroy 0-1  
(For SOG use  
only)

☐ 1. Bufiles indicate this case is delinquent. Give specific reason for delinquency.

☐

☒ 2. DATE ☐ airtel ☒ letterhead memo ☒ submitted **RE CLEAVER SPEECH**  
☐ report **OR** **U.OF CAL. AT SAN**  
☐ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter ☒ will be submitted **DIEGO**  
**10/5/68**

Reporting employee Will be subm. 10/25/68

☐ 3. If valid reason exists for not submitting report at this time, state reason specifically and when report will be submitted \_\_\_\_\_

☐ 4. Status of ☐ Appeal ☐ Inquiry ☐ Investigation ☐ Prosecution  
☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo ☐ report ☐ 90-day progress letter by \_\_\_\_\_  
☐ letter

(Place reply hereon and return to Bureau. Note receipt and acknowledgment)

157-526

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
(Date) 10/29/68	
use file	

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

*awb  
ap*  
**Memorandum**

**TO :** SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (Your file 100-55520) **DATE:** 10/21/68

**FROM :** Director, FBI (Bufile and Serial 100-447251) ☒ Post in file and

Room No. 604  
(For SOG use only)

**SUBJECT :** ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM-BPP

- ☐ 1. Bufiles indicate this case is delinquent. Give specific reason for delinquency.

☐

- ☐ 2. DATE ☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo ☐ submitted  
☐ report ☐ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter ☐ will be submitted 11-4-68

Reporting employee \_\_\_\_\_

- ☐ 3. If valid reason exists for not submitting report at this time, state reason specifically and when report will be submitted \_\_\_\_\_

SEARCHED \_\_\_\_\_ INDEXED \_\_\_\_\_

- ☐ 4. Status of ☐ Appeal ☐ Inquiry ☐ Investigation ☐ Prosecution  
☐ airtel ☒ letterhead memo SPEECHES AT STANFORD 10/1;  
☒ 5. Submit ☐ report SANTA CLARA 10/9; sf state 10/9; IF TAPES AVAIL-  
☐ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter by able SUBMIT COPIES

(Place reply hereon and return to Bureau. Note receipt and acknowledgment on ton-report in case file.)

FBI - SAN FRANCISCO

100-55520

FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Date: 10/23/68

DATE 04-27-2006 BY 60309 AUC

Transmit the following in

TAM/DOG/EHL

(Type in plaintext or code)

b6

b7C

Via

AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)

FROM: SAC, JACKSONVILLE (157-1693) (P)

SUBJ: CHANGED  
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
(OO: San Francisco)

Title changed to reflect name of subject previously carried as in reference.  
Re Jacksonville teletype, 10/21/68, entitled  
"BLACK PANTHER PARTY; RM-BPP".

Enclosed for the Bureau are 8 copies of a LHM in captioned matter. Also enclosed is the original and 1 copy of FD-376.

Two copies of the LHM are enclosed for San Francisco. One copy each of the LHM is being disseminated locally to Secret Service, Jacksonville; NISO, Charleston, S. C.; OSI, Jacksonville; MI, Jacksonville, and USA, Tallahassee.

Sources utilized in the enclosed LHM are as follows:

Number 1 is

an established source who requested identity be concealed and furnished information to SA

EX 110  
Number 2 is

an established

source who furnished information to SA and requested his identity be concealed.

- ③ - Bureau (Enc. 1) (RM)  
2 - San Francisco (Enc. 2) (RM)  
5 - Jacksonville  
1 - 100-967 SDS)  
(1 - 100-1073  
(1 - 100-791

PRD:jas

Approved: (10)

Sent

M

Per

Special Agent in Charge

53 NOV 12 1968



JK 157-1693

Number 3 is [redacted] who furnished information  
to SA [redacted]

Number 4 is [redacted] who  
[redacted] volunteered reliable information on a confidential basis.  
to SA [redacted] Location - [redacted]

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No. 157-1693

Jacksonville, Florida  
October 23, 1968

Director  
United States Secret Service  
Department of the Treasury  
Washington, D. C. 20220

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☐ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
  - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
  - (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
  - (c) ☒ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☐ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available  
☐ may be available through \_\_\_\_\_

Very truly yours,

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s))  
U. S. Secret Service, Jacksonville

Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form  
becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Jacksonville, Florida  
October 23, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER;  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Source Number One advised on October 21, 1968, that Eldridge Cleaver, minister of information of the Black Panther Party (BPP), had been invited to speak by the student government at Florida State University, (FSU), Tallahassee, Florida. He was expected to appear as a participant in the student government lecture series and extensive preparations were made for his appearance at FSU, which was scheduled for 8:30 PM, October 21, 1968.

Also in conjunction with Cleaver's appearance, a rally, which according to leaflets passed on campus was to be sponsored by the Students for a Democratic Society, (SDS), was scheduled for 5 PM the same date, at FSU, to raise funds for the defense of BPP leader Huey Newton.

The source advised that Newton was recently convicted in California of an offense connected with the murder of a police officer.

Source Number One advised that the BPP is a black militant organization with headquarters in California.

A characterization of the SDS is set forth in the appendix hereto.

Source Number One advised that student government at FSU announced that work had been received the afternoon of

COPIES DESTROYED  
343 MAY 3 1971

ENCLOSURE

157-447251-112

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

October 21, 1968, that Cleaver could not appear at FSU as scheduled because he had to be in California for a court hearing. The speech was therefore canceled.

Source Number Two advised on October 22, 1968, that a rally was held at an open-air amphitheater at FSU at 5 PM, October 21, 1968. He advised that the "Flambeau", FSU student newspaper, had indicated this rally was open to all and was sponsored by the FSU SDS Chapter, and was for the purpose of obtaining funds to help free Huey Newton, BPP leader.

The source advised that only about 75 persons, including curiosity seekers, attended the rally, which was disorganized and of short duration. Most of those attending were students and only two persons of the Negro race were observed. One was identified as [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Source Number Two advised that FSU student Mary K. Price spoke briefly at the rally and stated that Cleaver's speech had been canceled because he had to appear at a court hearing in California. She said that this was an example of how the courts worked together with the rest of the system in holding back free interchange of ideas. She then introduced a young man of the white race, whom she described as Professor Dan Fine from FAMU. *Fut*

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b7D

Source Number Two stated that Professor Fine spoke briefly outlining the case in California against Eldridge Cleaver and Huey Newton. He spent most of his remarks outlining his opinion that these individuals had been "framed" by the Oakland, California, Police Department and indicated that they were victims of discrimination.

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b7D

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

---

[redacted]  
according to Source Number One. [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Source Number One advised that a collection was taken up at the end of the rally for funds to aid in the defense of Newton and the amount collected reportedly approximated \$15.

Source stated that there were no incidents at the rally and many of those attending did not appear in agreement with Fine's remarks.

The foregoing information regarding the cancellation of Cleaver's speech and the rally held without incident was furnished on October 21, 1968, to [redacted]  
[redacted] Tallahassee, and local law enforcement at Tallahassee.

b6  
b7C

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

## APPENDIX

### STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam, and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. Gus Hall, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anticommunist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The National headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Jacksonville, Florida  
October 23, 1968

Title	ELDRIDGE CLEAVER
Character	RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Reference	Letterhead memorandum dated October 23, 1968, at Jacksonville, Florida.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.



Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

FBI

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Date: 10/23/68

DATE 05-01-2006 BY 60309 AUC

Transmit the following in

TAM/BSG/EHL

(Type in plaintext or code)

b6  
b7C

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, WFO (157-2026) (P)

LERROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
 RM - BPP

Re WFO teletype 10/19/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies, and for San Francisco two copies of an LHM containing a verbatim transcript of a speech given by the captioned subject at Howard University, Washington, D.C., on 10/18/68.

b6  
b7C

Copies are being disseminated locally to Secret Service, AUSA, and local military intelligence agencies.

This LHM contains many obscenities and vulgarisms and for this reason, the entire LHM will be handled in accordance with instructions for obscene matter.

Sources mentioned in the LHM are as follows: The first source is [redacted] the second source is [redacted] the third source is [redacted]

b2  
b7D

3 - Bureau (Enc. 8)

2 - San Francisco (100-55520) (Enc. 2) (RM AM)

3 - WFO

(1 - 157-1956) (BLACK PANTHER PARTY)

(1 - 157-1383) (General Racial Information, Howard University)

RNW/mee  
 (8)

AIRTEL

Approved:

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M. J. P. 1968

79 NOV 15 1968

4 YEROY ENCL  
 2-804  
 1cc encl to SSG R/S  
 4/11/68 RMH/ao

WFO 157-2026

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

In addition to the above, [redacted]  
and [redacted] attended the speech and furnished substantially  
the same information. [redacted]  
also furnished a tape recording of the speech.

The LHM is classified "Confidential" to protect  
the sources.

There were no incidents or disturbances in connection  
with the appearance of CLEAVER.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

DATE: 11/7/68

Re Bulet to San Francisco, dated 10/28/68, concerning the preparation of an LHM to advise Internal Revenue of Subject's income.

A compilation of information concerning all sources of income for the Subject is being made with the assistance of sources and will be submitted by LHM as soon as it is completed.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

REC-157

EX-101

NOV 11 1968

2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - San Francisco  
FL:kra  
3)



5010-108-02

NOV 13 1968

RACIAL INT. SEEN

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATION SECTION

NOV 3 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

FBI SAN FRAN

10:00PM DEFERRED 11/1/68 JXR

TO: DIRECTOR, LOS ANGELES, AND NEW YORK

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER; RM - BPP.

RE LOS ANGELES TELETYPE TO BUREAU AND SAN FRANCISCO THIS  
DATE.

SUBJECT'S PAROLE OFFICER ADVISED THIS DATE CLEAVER HAS AUTHORITY  
TO TRAVEL LOS ANGELES TO RETURN BY NOVEMBER THREE. HE IS TO  
SPEAK SOUTH PARK NOVEMBER TWO. SUBJECT ALSO HAS AUTHORITY TO TRAVEL  
NEW YORK CONFER WITH PUBLISHER. EXPECTS TO DEPART FOR NEW YORK  
NOVEMBER FOUR AND RETURN SAN FRANCISCO NOVEMBER SEVEN, NEXT.

END.

SVM

FBI WASH DC

EX 106

REC-64

100-447251-115

NOV 4 1968

50 NOV 18 1968  
100M 836 9&D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 02-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/M/ EHL

FBI

Date: 11/4/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via

AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

(Priority)

TO DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)(P)

SUBJECT LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

b6  
b7C

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies of an LHM suitable for dissemination.

Enclosed LHM concerns a talk delivered by Subject at Stanford University on 10/31/68. The talk was recorded and broadcast over the college-run radio station KZSU, apparently as it was delivered, full of obscenities. Efforts to obtain a copy of the tape from the station through sources at the campus have been unsuccessful.

A 145 (Broadcasting Obscene Language) case is being opened and should a copy of the tape be obtained through this criminal investigation, the speech will be transcribed and disseminated by LHM. *rec. Auto LHM 80498A*

*Crim Div.*  
AGENCY: ACSI, ~~SEC. SERV.~~, SEC. SERV.

DEPT: ISD, ~~EDU~~ EDUHOW FORW: *B/S*DATE FORW: *11/13/68*BY: *RMH/...*b6  
b7C

C. C. Bishop

- ③ - Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)  
2 - San Francisco  
FL:sm  
(5)

REC-31

EX-105

6 NOV 6 1968

NOV 2 15 32 68 1228

RACIAL INT. SECT.

51 NOV 19 1968

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M Per \_\_\_\_\_



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

November 4, 1968

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Copies of this memorandum have been furnished locally to intelligence agencies of the Army, Navy, and Air Force, and to the U.S. Attorney and Secret Service.

An article appearing in the October 1, 1968, issue of the "San Francisco Chronicle" captioned, "Cleaver Talks Today at Stanford", reflects that Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party and author of "Soul on Ice", was to speak at the Stanford auditorium on "Conditions in the Black Community" on October 1, 1968. It was to be a public lecture sponsored by Stanford's Committee for New Democratic Politics, a volunteer organization of Eugene McCarthy and Robert Kennedy supporters.

On October 21, 1968, Thomas F. Bell, Chief of Police, Stanford University, Palo Alto, California, advised that Cleaver spoke to an overflow crowd at the Stanford University auditorium during the evening hours of October 1, 1968. His speech was full of obscene four letter words directed at public officials, and contained a challenge to a duel for California Governor Ronald Reagan, whom he said he would beat to death with a marshmallow. Cleaver stated that Huey Newton, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, had been railroaded to jail, and he compared America to Nazi Germany, stating America was on the verge of Nazism.

The speech lasted over an hour, and approximately two thousand people were in attendance.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

100-447251-116

NOV 11 1968



FBI

Date: 11/4/68

st  
estTransmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL  
(Priority)

TO DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)(P)

SUBJECT LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies of an LHM suitable for dissemination.

For the information of the Bureau, the Subject's talk at San Francisco State College on 10/9/68, was billed solely as a reading from his book, "Soul on Ice", for benefit of the Poetry Center at the College. It was not until after CLEAVER begun speaking that he stated he did not feel like reading from his book and took off on a tirade against college officials and state and federal politicians.

The Subject's talk was recorded at the college surreptitiously, but the recording device was located a distance of approximately 200 yards from the speaker's stand and consequently the tape is not clear and it contains much background noise. Efforts to prepare an acceptable transcript are continuing, and it will be submitted to the Bureau by LHM along with a copy of the tape upon completion.

1cc Airtel +  
SAC SAN - 80494D  
AGENCY: [redacted] b2

- (3) - Bureau (Enc. 8) (RM)  
2 - San Francisco  
FL:sm  
(5)

HOW FORW: [redacted]

DATE FORW: 11/13/68

BY: [redacted]

100-447251-117  
6 NOV 6 1968  
NOV 8 1968  
REC 88  
NOV 15 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.  
2

Approved: [signature]

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7c





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

San Francisco, California

November 4, 1968

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Copies of this memorandum have been provided to intelligence agencies of the Army, Navy, Air Force, Secret Service, and the U.S. Attorney.

b6  
b7C

On October 24, 1968, [redacted] San Francisco State College, San Francisco, California, advised that Eldridge Cleaver, the Black Panther Party Minister of Information, was scheduled to read from his book, "Soul on Ice", at the College under sponsorship of the Poetry Center on October 9, 1968. When Cleaver appeared, however, he said he did not feel like reading from his book and proceeded to verbally attack, with obscenities, the California Board of Regents for trying to keep him from teaching at the University of California at Berkeley. He also attacked Governor Reagan and Presidential Candidates George Wallace, Vice President Humphrey, and Richard Nixon, calling them names like "racist pig" and "meat head".

Cleaver spoke to a crowd of about 2,000 students.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

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343 MAY 6 1971

100-447251-117  
ENCLOSURE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATION SECTION

NOV 1 1968

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_

FBI WASH DC

**TELETYPE**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

FBI SAN FRAN

10:11PM DEFERRED 10/31/68 JXR

TO: DIRECTOR

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

APPEARANCE OF LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER AND JERRY RUBIN, AT COLLEGE  
OF MARIN, KENTFIELD, CALIFORNIA, OCTOBER THREE ON<sup>E</sup>, INSTANT.

MEETING HELD IN COLLEGE GYM, ATTENDED BY APPROXIMATELY TWENTY FIVE  
HUNDRED STUDENTS. CLEAVER FAILED TO MAKE APPEARANCE. JERRY RUBIN'S  
SPEECH SPRINKLED WITH OBSCENITIES. IN SPEECH STATED HIS AIM WAS TO  
BRING DOWN AMERICA. URGED STUDENTS SHOULD DROP OUT, TAKE OVER, OR  
BURN DOWN SCHOOL. REFERRED TO ALL PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES AS PIGS.  
STATED PLANNING TO TRY TO DISRUPT VOTING PLACES ON NOVEMBER FIVE NEXT.  
STATED AMERICA NOT HIS COUNTRY AND OPPOSED U.S. PLANS IN ASIA. ADVO-  
CATED THE DESTRUCTION OF MONEY AND ECONOMY OF THIS COUNTRY AS WE NOW  
KNOW IT. DESCRIBED U.S. AS A SICK COMMERCIAL SOCIETY.

END.

JCR

FBI WASH DC

P

EX 110 REC 45

NOV 6 1968

53 NOV 18 1968

b6  
b7C

12 NOV 5 1968

b6  
b7C

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 6 1968

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

FBI SAN FRAN

1140AM DEFERRED 11-6-68 MS

TO DIRECTOR (100-447521) CHARLOTTE & NEW YORK  
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520) 4P

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER; RM - BPP

RE CHARLOTTE AIRTEL TO BUREAU OCTOBER TWENTYTWO LAST.

[REDACTED] ADVISED THIS DATE  
SUBJECT HAS NOT REQUESTED AND, THEREFORE, HAS NOT BEEN GRANTED  
PERMISSION TO FILL SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS AT DUKE UNIVERSITY AND  
AT NORTH CAROLINA COLLEGE ON NOVEMBER SEVEN AND EIGHT, NEXT.  
SUBJECT IS SCHEDULED TO RETURN FROM NEW YORK TO SAN FRANCISCO  
NOVEMBER SEVEN. HE HAS NO KNOWN SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS ON NOVEMBER  
SEVEN OR EIGHT AND HAS NOT BEEN KNOWN TO TRAVEL OUTSIDE SAN  
FRANCISCO BAY AREA WITHOUT PAROLE OFFICER'S PERMISSION.

END

CKG

FBI WASH DC

MR. [REDACTED] b6 b7C  
ROOM 836 9&D  
59 NOV 19 1968

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7C

ST-115

REC 26

100-447251-119

NOV 19 1968

b6  
b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

~~SECRET~~

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: 11/14/68

FROM : SAC, WFO (157-2026) (RUC)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP  
(00:SF)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

2  
CB

Re WFO airtels and LHM's 10/22/68 and 10/23/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies of an LHM, and for San Francisco two copies, containing information concerning the visit of captioned subject to Washington, D. C. on 10/18/68.

Source mentioned in

(S)

b1

Q

The LHM is marked confidential to protect the source.

WFO considering this matter RUC.

AAG

DATE: 04-27-2006  
CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL  
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1)  
04-27-2031

REC 43

6 NOV 15 1968

- 1d
- ② - Bureau (Encl. 8)
  - 2 - San Francisco (100-55520) (RM) (Encl. 2)
  - 1 - WFO

RNW:pst  
(5)

~~SECRET~~

RACIAL INT. SECT.



b6  
b7c



Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C. 20535  
November 14, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL  
ON 12-02-2005

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

On November 6, 1968, a source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER registered at the Holiday Inn, 15th and Rhode Island Avenue, Northwest, Washington, D. C.

b7D

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1

~~Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

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843 MAY 3 1971

- 1\* -

ENCLOSURE  
100-447251-1

1 - Mr.

b6  
b7C

11-14-68

**Airtel**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

**To: SAC, San Francisco (100-55520)**

**From: Director, FBI (100-447251)**

**LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER**  
**RM - BPP**  
**BUDED 11-22-68**

*AP*  
The subject has made repeated statements in recent speeches to the effect that he does not intend to go back to prison on 11-27-68 as ordered by California parole authorities. He has stated that he intends to remain in the black community and will rely on sympathetic black people to conceal him.

San Francisco is requested to determine through its informants and sources whether Cleaver actually intends to avoid going back to prison. It must be recognized that if Cleaver carries out this threat the Bureau will be faced with an Unlawful Flight to Avoid Confinement case. It is important, therefore, to analyse this situation prior to 11-27-68 and to be prepared for the possibility that Cleaver will attempt to hide out. As previously suggested, the possibility that Cleaver may seek refuge outside the United States must also be considered. *B*

Submit an airtel to reach the Bureau by 11-22-68, furnishing observations of your informants and sources concerning the action they anticipate Cleaver will take. Your recommendations concerning any investigative action which should be taken in connection with this matter should be submitted.

*REC 5* 100-447251-121

**RMH:bkb**  
**(4)** *bkb*

SEE NOTE PAGE 10 NOV 14 1968

MAILED 10  
NOV 14 1968  
COMM-FBI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

51 NOV 20 1968  
MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Airtel to SAC, San Francisco  
RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
100-447251

NOTE:

Cleaver is Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party. He is on parole after serving nine years of a 14 year sentence for assault. He was involved in a gun battle with Oakland Police on 4-6-68 as a result of which his parole was revoked and he was returned to jail. A California Supreme Court Judge released him on the basis that his parole had been revoked for political reasons. California Court of Appeals reversed this decision on 9-27-68 and ordered parole order reinstated but gave subject 60 days to appeal.



FBI

Date: 11/8/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL - REGISTERED

(Priority)

Mr.

M

M

M

M

M

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TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 11/22/88 BY 1043 RBG CA# 75-203  
11/7/85

Re Albany letter 10/17/68.

On [redacted] (Reliable) advised that [redacted]

Source said he learned that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER has had

[redacted] accompanied CLEAVER to New York State.

Albany requested to endeavor to determine if [redacted]

[redacted] accompanied CLEAVER to Troy, New York, where he made  
speech 10/14/68, at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute.Albany further requested to determine if CLEAVER  
stayed at hotel or motel while in capitol area and if so, were  
accommodations shared by a female.

No descriptive data available concerning [redacted]  
Records of San Francisco and Oakland, California, PDs contain  
no information concerning a [redacted] who might be  
identified with [redacted]

San Francisco is attempting to determine if CLEAVER's  
activities constitute violation of WSTA.

3 - Bureau (AM-RM) DECLASSIFIED BY [redacted]  
2 - Albany (AM-RM) ON [redacted]  
3 - San Francisco (1 - 100-55520)  
TC/jr (1 - 157-601) (COINTELPRO)  
(8) [redacted] b2 [redacted] b7D [redacted]

Approved: 21 NOV 1968

C. Bishop

Special Agent in Charge

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CLASS. & EXT. BY [redacted]  
REASON - FCIM II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW 11/3/88

EXT. BY [redacted]  
DATE OF REVIEW 11/3/88

Per [redacted]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251) DATE: 11/14/68

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-161321) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

ReBuairtel to NY, 10/14/68.

Enclosed for Bureau and San Francisco is copy of taped speech of ELDRIDGE CLEAVER at Iona College, New Rochelle, NY, 10/11/68.

It is noted that there are many instances in the speech where the tape was unintelligible. Words of obscenity or profanity are indicated but not spelled out.

*LH Mon  
speech  
reunited  
disseminated*

*copy sent to  
AAB, yeager  
by letter 11/10/68*

- ENCLOSURE
- 2 - Bureau (Enc1.1) (RM)
  - 1 - San Francisco (100-55520) (Enc1.1) (RM)
  - 1 - New York (#43)

VJA:ljm  
(4)

REC-7

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

10 NOV 18 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.



DEC 12 1968

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

Speech of Leroy Eldridge Cleaver  
at Iona College, New Rochelle, NY, 10/11/68

Hey - how you doing father - glad to be here -  
Voice in background voice calls hey father - look here -  
wait a minute wait a minute just be cool - can you hear  
me father? - can you hear me father? Hey father - can  
you hear me father or Brother or Sister or whatever it  
is - Why don't you come on down here and you talk and  
then I'll talk - Come on down cause if you don't come  
down here I'm going to come up there. Quiet so we can  
hear. - What did he say? - Cheers and chants of Go-Go-Go.  
I'm very glad to be here and people at the school who  
invited me here and I'll be very glad to have the father  
come down here and say what he has to say to the people.  
I'll be very glad to wait and allow him to say what he  
has to say and I'll say what I have to say and if you  
will allow me I will go over there, let him talk and then  
I'll talk but I think it's kind of nonsensical for both of  
us to talk at the same time - Cheers - Well, I came  
here to say this - All power to the people, Black power  
for black people, white power for white people, red  
power for red people, yellow power for yellow people,  
brown power for brown people and we don't get up tight  
when we talk about white power for white people because  
you never had that before. What you have had is the  
power in the hands of pigs - Cheers - Listen - Listen  
you've had pigs exercising power over you and this is  
why you need the power in your hands now so you can stop  
the pigs in the power structure from oppressing the  
people of the world, from oppressing the people right  
here in this country - Now listen if you hear - At  
Columbia we haven't (learned) anything yet - O.K. - But  
that was a good example of some tactics that can be used  
if you (pull that stuff) up against the wall - if people  
tell you there is no other way then you use those tactics -  
O.K. - What's going to happen if violence starts? Now the  
position of the Black Panther Party is that right now  
there is no need for violence because it's not going to  
do any good - My idea is there's no need for violence right  
now at all and if such a situation does occur I person-  
ally don't feel it would be the fault of anybody who has  
put together this program today - O.K. - Be cool - OK-  
look this is to the white audience because I know the black  
people don't plan to start anything but just in case the  
white audience thought that they were going to start something

COPIES DESTROYED  
3+3 MAY 3 1971

-1-

ENCLOSURE

100-447251-123

I just want them to know we're not trying to prove anything to me well enough and you want to go through with this, all right then we're going to do it. I am the presidential nominee of the Peace and Freedom Party. I'm the Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party and I've written a book and I have things I want to say to people and it's been indicated that people don't mind hearing it - O.K. - I'm very surprised by that. I didn't expect that (Unintelligible - Untl) we are going to talk about our program to help the people of this country do away with the type of divisions that can bring about a situation like this - (There is some noise from the audience) (Untl) - led by a priest - dig it - I wonder if there are any priests on our side. All right, there are a couple of priests down there. So that we know we're not alone and if there is a God in heaven there must be a division on a question as to whether or not it is over here or over there or do any of us know what we're talking about or is the confused situation more than anything else needs light shed on it. I believe that there is confusion throughout this country - that the number one problem that the people of this country have to face is the problem of confusion. They are confused by the lying textbooks and lying officials, lying public officials, lying people who tell lies - false statistics so that we don't know who the enemy is and who the friends are. We're in a situation where we need information. We're in a situation where we just don't have time to play funny games. That is why across this country, college students are (garbled) of seeing how many can crowd into a telephone booth or how many goldfish they can swallow now or how many rallies they can break up by heckling instead of allowing people to talk so they can get the benefit of what the person has to say - We have no time to waste - We have no time to waste. There are those who would defer me of the right to speak and you of the right to hear what I have to say - dig it - (fear?) - is a form of insanity which is sweeping across this country. They talk about the black - Applause - Wait a

minute - shut up- shut up - shut up. Wait a minute. They talk about the Black Panther Party being a racist organization in that it seeks to deprive other people of their rights. But you don't hear anything of the Black Panther Party going around terrorizing people or trying to intimidate other people or trying to force other people to break up their rallies. We say this - we do not allow anybody to drive over us whether they are hecklers or off duty policemen who try to attack us when we try to go to court no matter who they are. We must be in a position at all times to stand up and defend our principles and not to run and be frightened and intimidated by those who seek to drive over us. We can not do that, we will not do that and we are telling everybody to defend their rights. It is necessary to do that. What is going on in this country today represents the insanity of an economic system or political designs, of avaricious business men who care nothing of the requisite of a society and the needs of the people to survive. They have perverted the political process. It may be some of you supported Eugene Mc Carthy. You know what happened to the supporters of Eugene Mc Carthy when they went to Chicago. People who are deprived of their rights speak out. People who deprived them of their rights to speak out about the war in Vietnam. Mayor Daley, a good Catholic, released the policemen upon the people with their clubs with their guns and with their chemicals, made to deprive the people of Chicago of their proper rights to voice their dissent. And we say they are beginning to act like Nazi Germans in 1933 when the storm troopers were running around depriving the people of their rights to oppose the insane doctrines of Hitler and now we see that happening here in America. Here in Babylon where people are now about right-wing people who seek to deprive, who seek to intimidate you so that they can get a fool in the White House like George Wallace. Applause. We say this to all the powers of the power structure, that for the black people of America they are going to have their liberty by any means necessary and we are going to defend ourselves against those who attempt to

deprive us of our rights. Applause. We say this, the Black Panther Party is not a racist organization that we recognize. There are white people in this country that we recognize, that this structure can not go on as it has for these hundreds of years, that the world is on the brink of destruction that the people, the men and women are going to have to rise up out of the bogus of this country and take back the government from the hands of the usurpers so that the people can reorganize their lives, so that the Garden of Eden can be brought back down to earth, so that the people can live together on this planet because it is no longer a ---- planet, it is a neighborhood, it is a community and we're all going to be a part of that community or we're going to have an increase of madness, chaos and bloodshed everywhere. The Black Panther Party wants to avert that: this is why we go around this country talking to people talking to young white people and I know that what I have encountered around this country on campuses is not representative of what the young white people of this country is told. Applause. We feel we have a duty, including our lives to those who would take it rather than see our ideas defeated. We must do everything, leave no stone unturned, to try building a bridge between the white people of this country who want to make a gun and the black people of this country who are determined to make a gain because it has to come about. The condition between the Black Panther Party and the Peace and Freedom Party is a small beginning. We believe that the history of our country has to be told because it is a history of misery, suffering and death. We need a new book. We date that book from March 15th of this year, a coalition between the black members of the Black Panther Party and the white members of the Peace and Freedom Party. We want to start there and create a history that we can teach to our children, where we won't be fighting about what is in the text book because it will be the truth: the universal truth that condemns those who have been evil and ---- who have been the victims of that evil. We say that that book respects the true history of the country, of the world.



One which we should all be able to relate to so we date our book from March 15 and we want to write a new book, one of the people, for the people and by the people. The book of the (Until) is one of the pigs, by the pigs and for the pigs. That's ancient history. You want to start a new history, the basic essentials that we work on that every man, woman and child on the face of the planet earth deserves and has an absolute right to the very highest and the best standard of living that human knowledge and technology is capable of providing. Anything that stands in the way of that has to go, has to be tamed, has to be modified and it has to be done on a world wide basis because we have a world wide system today part of it oppressing the people of the world the other part of it trying to get rid of the oppression. So the saying red power to red people, yellow power to yellow people, we say (until) to brother Mao Tse Tung - we recognize what you have done, that you've liberated your people from imperialism and from colonialism and we recognize you brother Ho Chi Minh - what you doing - that you are trying to liberate your country from the imperialists and we want to bring the boys home. We want to bring the boys home too. We do not want to see the young people - young men sent to Vietnam to murder people and to be killed themselves for a man the likes of General Hershey who has the audacity to endorse George Wallace for President, or General Curtis Le May who is so audacious as to be George Wallace's running mate. We say there is something wrong with an army which produces two generals of that type (Applause) How can they expect the young black brothers, cooped up in the ghetto to look into a mailbox and take out a letter from General Hershey telling him to go to Vietnam and then look at the front page of the paper and see this smug General Hershey endorsing for President a man who would carry black people into the gas chamber like Hitler did the Jews. We cannot relate to that shit and we do not relate to it and there is nothing that can make us relate to it. Nothing can make us relate to that, no



power on earth can make us relate to that. We want liberation for black people, we want liberation for white people, we want liberation for all people of the world. No more of the society - what are we going to do for the next four years. We have a choice between Richard Milhouse Nixon, Hubert Horatio Humphrey and George Wallace and me. We have a choice of which pig do we put into the White House (Untl). I make a distinction between myself and the pig of the power structure (Untl) country. I function as Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, managing editor of Ramparts magazine and presidential nominee of the Peace and Freedom Party and I don't control the army in this country. I don't control the newspapers in this country. I don't control the Board of Regents for a region of California so he is in a position for political purposes to force the Board of Regents to pass a resolution forbidding me from delivering ten lectures on the campus of the University of California - pig power - The students came to me and asked me if I would participate in these lectures and they gave this reason why. They are concerned with getting to the roots of racism so they will know how, when they come out into the world, to pluck them up by their roots. That is what they are concerned about and I think that is a noble concern. And I would feel like a fool, I would feel irresponsible if I didn't do anything and go there and participate with them because that problem has to be solved; we have to get to the roots of racism, pluck those roots out and build a new world or we're going to have chaos and madness until the last man lays down and dies. Now I say this. The day (find?) the problem or you (find?) the solution, there are no two ways about it because chaos and insanity is mounting and you can do as people have done in other situations, sit back, not know what side you want to be on - the side of the oppressor or the side of the oppressed. It is a simple decision that has to be made and we want to be on the side of the oppressed, not only because we were from that side and because we cannot escape it because we're black but also because

that is where our heart is. Because of the people of the world, no matter in which they be who are oppressed, who are denied their human rights and who are subjected to fear and tyranny who advocate our responsibility and who attain their goals by driving over the rights of people. We repudiate that type of behavior and we associate ourselves with people and work with people, fight and die with people who can relate to that. We want to see a new world; we are willing to man the ramparts. Do you want to be a part of the problem or part of the new system? What is wrong with being affirmative rather than negative, and taking a G.I. D. stand and saying what you're in favor of, because you have to start making up your mind. (Applause) Because there are other people in the process of making up their minds. They want to frighten you into believing that the situation is such that this chaos and confusion cannot be dealt with. Stop the lies that is propaganda; the spirit of the people is better than the man technology. They can never deprive people of the ability to overcome these malfunctions of society; people have the power if they exercise their will to overcome any and all obstacles that have suffocated them and uniting them to their lives. The situation can be dealt with. Nothing can deprive you of that. They're going to have you if you don't do something quick. You will be afraid to talk to each other for fear that your neighbor is a member of the FBI, the CIA, or some other organization that doesn't have a game that the people know. We say all this underground b--l s--t is undemocratic and deprives people of the right to know what is going on around here. You have a right to know of what forces are in your community. You have a right to that information. This is why Lyndon Johnson issues live reports to the people because that is a credibility gap. This is a euphemism which fits in American history. But the truth is that the President of the United States, Lyndon Baines Johnson, has been lying to the people about what he is doing, what is going on in the country, what is going on in the world, and whose fault it is. He has been lying and his lies have become so vague

that even his own party has repudiated him. (Applause)  
He looked in the mirror one morning and he saw lies  
dripping from his vest, lies covered with blood; and he  
said, yes, tomorrow I will have something to announce  
that I will not be a candidate for presidency the next  
time around. That is what he did; get off because the  
people don't need him. Get off, because the people  
don't need Hubert Horatio Humphrey, they don't need  
Nixon and they definitely don't need George Wallace.  
Keep George Wallace, take him home with you and kiss  
him, daughter. Black people do not want him and white  
people who are serious about dealing with this situation  
do not want him, but we have all three of them. So how  
are we going to give a damn for the next four years. I  
say that the only alternative of the Democratic Party,  
step outside the Republican Party. I ask black people to  
join the Black Panther Party and organize a chapter of  
the Black Panther Party right here on this campus and or-  
ganize a white----- of the Black Panther Party right  
here on campus, and conduct your business, communicate  
with each other, and work together to try to get rid of  
this kind of ----- We don't go around trying to prove  
that we're not racist. Our actions speak for us. The  
fact that the white members of the Peace and Freedom  
Party have chosen me as their presidential candidate says  
that I fear that some people here feel that some members  
of the Peace and Freedom Party are all "coo-coo" and they  
have chosen a black racist who will f--k over them or  
either they're trying to build communication for the  
people who are trying to salvage humanity and themselves.  
So we say here on this campus look around and you will  
see who the trouble makers are. If you get a chapter of  
the Black Panther Party on the campus you will always  
know that you can approach them at any time regardless  
of what color you are. Whatever your color you can approach  
a member of the Black Panther Party if you respect their  
dignity, if you respect them as men and women, they will  
respect you as men and women. That is all we have to  
give of, that is all you have a right to, that is all  
we ask of you and that is all that you can give us.

We don't want people to cooperate with us - to work with us because they feel guilty because of what has been done in the history of this country. Because people who feel like that and (let their mind get stuck like that) are not responsible when it comes to dealing with this situation. We need people who realize that as long as they don't continue their evil deeds of the past that they are not guilty of the crimes perpetrated by their ancestors. But only if they make a decisive break with the past. White people today like to say that it is not their fault, that they did not authorize slavery. They had nothing to do with that so don't blame them. But the point is this, if they were not a part of the theft why are they so determined to hang onto the loot. We say there is a crime in the penal code that involves receipt of stolen property. Now if your father would go down and rob the Chase Manhattan Bank and take some of that money from Rockefeller that he has been sucking out of South Africa and if he brought that money home to you they would send the local police down and if they caught you with it they would arrest you and charge you with receiving stolen property or being an accessory after the fact. And you could go to jail for that. I do know about jail, I'm an authority on it. So I tell these people so they don't have to go there themselves and they don't have to rely on the lying statements by the Warden in order to know what is going on in there. (Applause) If it was first on an individual basis of a little bank getting knocked over they have a statute of limitations of seven years. After seven years when their not out looking for you, you can bring it out and spend it. But we're not talking about a petty crime of that caliber. We are talking about a universal crime against humanity that persisted for hundreds of years and there is no statute of limitations on the people who have been victimized by the process to regain control of all those things that have been taken away from them. The things of which they have been robbed. Now we have been robbed of the control of our destiny. We have been robbed of the right of have employment - full employment. We have been robbed of the right not to go



out and kill people who are not our enemy and who are not attacking us. We have been robbed of everything that a free people has. We want freedom to determine the destiny of our own black community. We want to be exempt, we want to be free from being drafted into the army where we don't want to go and shipped to Vietnam and kill people, we don't want to kill. The program of the Black Panther Party is addressed to the needs for resurrecting the black community, the black people in their community and put them on a real basis of life. A life that will be free, a life that will be free of all tyranny, all obstruction and all outside control. We think that we have a right to that and we are going to get it regardless of off duty policemen attacking us when we go to court, regardless of off duty policemen getting into cars and blowing horns as we try to talk. Regardless of what they do we are going to continue to organize our people around the ten point program of the black Panther Party. We are going to continue our progress - in the Peace and Freedom Party and we'll come here any time we're invited and speak to anybody who invites us here including some people who don't seem to know what we are all about. Now I say this - I don't know if that man in the black garment was a priest, you know that better than I do and he was on this campus. You have a duty and you have a right to communicate with that man and see to it that he starts studying the Bible. (Applause) Hold it - wait a minute - You have got to let him know that if he teaches us that we are concerned about priests who will sprinkle a (holy water?) on the hydrogen bomb. We are concerned about the priest who helped Adolph Hitler in Nazi Germany. We're concerned about that and we're concerned about the priest in this country who will sprinkle holy water on the gas chambers that the racists want to set up for black people. Because if the priests and preachers and the ministers. I'm talking about Yonks town black preachers, I'm talking about racist white preachers, I'm talking about all of them who are (loyal?). There are more people in this country than there are pigs, if they like it or not. There was a French man by the name of Voltaire who had problems with

certain members of the cloth and he said this in an hour of bitterness that he wanted to see the last capitalist strangled with the guts of the last priest. Now that is a brave statement, but we don't want to get into that. So not only do the students of this campus communicate with their priests but the other priests on this campus have a duty to talk with their soul brothers, get them together, get those socks off them, and send it down to the New York City Police Department to get a job where they belong. (Applause) The times we live in require people to step further who are on the side of people. People who are part of the solution not part of the problem. People who have love in their hearts instead of hate. Accept that word hatred that I have in my heart, that every member of the Black Panther Party has in his heart. The hatred that you should all have in your hearts, the hatred that will not allow you to tolerate the of --- a peasion. The type of hatred that you know if the people would have had during the days of slavery in this country that slavery would have been abolished much sooner without so much blood history being written. Would you have advocated that the people at that time hate slavery or would want them to be neutral on that too. When we say that it is necessary to hate the system that infects its people today, you are either going to hate it or love it as a lot of red, white and blue people do. Are you going to not hate it or not love it. I say that a system that is not worthy of your love is not worthy to rule over you. If you cannot love it you have no business here. Anytime knowing that you have been a part of having perfected, knowing that we feel safe, knowing that we have the right to the very best. We have the right to modify a system knowing it can be better, it can be done and nobody with the best interest has the right to tell us that we cannot do that. And you the right to speak out, to demand that the public servants of this country start to serve the public, that they must be subservient to the people. Any man who has the gall to stand up and speak to the people must have the humility to be subservient to the people. I am sick and tired of arrogance of the public servants who deny you your rights, who are getting

their salary from you each week. I pay my G-- D-- taxes too. I don't like to give my money and I don't like to see anyone else give money to Lyndon Johnson, but if I refused to pay my taxes he would send the "pigs" down to lock me up. I'm not going to do it anyway, I'm going to give my money to Joan Baez or the Black Panther Party. That is where it belongs. I'd give it to Huey Newton Defense Fund or I'll give it to the confused "pigs" so that they can buy themselves a New Testament and read about Jesus Christ. (Applause) Let them learn something about the man whose name they dishonor by masking their obnoxious anti-humanitarian activities behind his name. It has to stop if there is going to be a future for humanity. I know that the young white people of this country ----- and I say this knowing that I am on the campus of a college that is Catholic. I say f--k Ronald Reagan, f--k the "pigs" of the power structure (repeated this several times). They have no right. The oppressor has no right that the oppressed has to respect. And I want to say this because I didn't see any women up on that hill. Whenever you see 25 or 30 men up on the hill with the priests without any women there is something wrong with them. (Applause) I want to say, and this is very relevant to this campus, between the women and certain men, and I want to say this to the women and you men are Kitch-hikers, eavesdroppers but you might need to know this too. The women. I say this political power grows out of the lips of a pussy - pussy power - this is what I'm saying that your power is a solution or your power is a problem and if your power is a solution then you don't have any right or any justification for letting power be a problem. So I would like to see a situation where you (tear these down?) to stay away, don't call you on the telephone and don't write me any letters and don't come knocking on your door cause you'll sic your dog on them and they'll be there begging like Lazarus at your door - dig it -. But you tell him to go away and get himself together because power is a solution break - stay away stage - upon the hill, without another cat, a priest and no women. (Break in conversation) Against them (break in conversation) people - men that the power of solution that they will hang your name on the bulletin board and they will come to your hour of need. And I'm saying that everything



should be progressive. Everything should be revolutionary. That is part of the solution - love could be part of the solution. You are no longer Puritans and you can indulge in such activities outside of wedlock. Sex could be part of the solution, because you should not allow it to be used against you. How would you look like - - Hubert Humphrey, Richard Nixon and George Wallace or Mickey Mouse Regis or Donald Duck Rafferty. You don't know him - You see he thinks he is famous - He is Superintendent of (Public Accessories?) in California - He is running for the United States Senate and I mention his name to a crowd of people and nobody has ever heard of him. And I'm sorry, I apologize to you for mentioning it to you because you don't want to know him. He is the hatchet man of the education system in California. He is the kind of cat who goes around snooping with his long pig-like snort into the footnotes of the textbooks and he gets outraged and says we got to remove this footnote because if the young people of America read this footnote, the walls will come tumbling down. He never says anything specific - believe me and he seems always to be talking to little old ladies in tennis shoes except that I said something to him one night and one of the little old ladies threw one of them at me and said don't you be insulting me like that Eldridge because I've been supporting you and don't put me in the bag with those pigs. So we don't write anybody off. We've all been through various stages. I know a cat a member of the Peace and Freedom Party who is a die hard Goldwaterite a few years ago. Now he is with us because he knows what goldilocks is all about. I was a member of the Black Muslim movement but not anymore and I got out of that bag because I recognized the bag was not where I wanted to be, where my sympathies were and I felt justified in living in and presiding and aggravating for other people. With Brother Malcolm X when he moved I moved. You have to recognize that Brother Malcolm X did something that was more important than anything, any black man has done since Marcus Garvey. (Applause) If you don't recognize Malcolm for anything else you have to recognize him for this, that he told the history of the black liberation movement in this country, rescued it from an incorrect

position from racist ideologies and he moved it out of that with diluting it and in fact giving it more of a revolutionary thrust. He salvaged the black man's liberation struggle from an erroneous direction and he prophesized that it was necessary for black people to organize, pick up a gun, from being evicted or attacked by vigilantes, nightriders, Klu Klux Klanners wearing policemen uniforms. (Applause) It is very important to "dig" the historic leads. When Malcolm was talking about the importance of going that Huey Newton was listening. Hugh P. Newton and Bobby Sealé moved to perpetrate the thesis of Malcolm X to further develop the direction in which he was moving and Malcolm was the one who opened up the door to resume communications to those in the white community who were willing to make a break with the past and move toward the future. We gave Malcolm to thank for that because that was the necessary turn of events. (Applause) It has been done. He died a death for the rights of the people. A death as violent as that of Jesus. Yes he is dead whether you recognize that or not. We may be all wrong about what we stand for because we don't know the ultimate truth about the universe and we don't go around lying saying that we do. Maybe it would be best if people did not allow us to talk, and after we die whether we be thrown away by someone who doesn't like us or whether we live to be old like some of these priests. If we find ourselves before the throne of God, and look up at him with his long hippie hair and if he says to judge your honor and casts us down into the hell fire to burn forever. Unless we (Until) this piece of information we are going to look around for the people - for you - for the other members of the Black Panther Party - for the Peace and Freedom Party and we will form a coalition to deal with the devil because we don't have to relate to that fire either. We do not have to relate to anything which deprives

us of our dignity and of our humanity. And if God Himself comes down and forms a coalition with the devil to keep us in the fire we'll just have to move against him whether you like it or not. This spirit of the people is greater than man's technology. I'm quite sure it will be greater than the devil's technology (Until) what we're doing and call us to the womb of our mother and program us - reshape (Until) And don't give us the free will that we too can exercise by stage. That we don't think we have to do this, the oppression of the system. We made a decision not to relate to it, not to relate to a standard army of gestapo pigs in our community who are there to murder us and to brutalize us; to protect the property of the avaricious business men. The avaricious business men who give a --- to politicians and the strong arm troops of the power structure, the local police, we do not have to accept that. We say all power to the people, black power for black people and white power for white people, red power for red people, yellow power for "Ho Chi Min", Mao Tse Tung and all their brothers and sisters, student power for students faculty power to all the faculty who relate to that and guest lecture power to guest lecturers. Thank you! (Applause)

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

November 15, 1968

Director, FBI

✓ **LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER**  
**RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY**

Enclosed are memoranda concerning the subject's speeches at the University of California at San Diego on October 4, 1968, and at Iona College, New Rochelle, New York on October 11, 1968. Tape recordings of these two speeches are available. *B*

This material should be considered in connection with my letter dated September 6, 1968, requesting a prosecutive opinion.

Enclosures - 2

100-447251

REC-76

100-447251-124

- 1 - San Diego (157-526)
- 1 - San Francisco (100-55520)

19 NOV 18 1968

NOTE FOR SAC, SAN DIEGO:

*b2  
b7D*  
*12-17*  
*RMH*  
Reurlet 10/23/68 which states that the memorandum concerning the subject's speech at University of California at San Diego has been classified "Confidential" to protect certain informants. These informants are adequately concealed by use of [redacted] symbols and as the speech was public and was heard by approximately 4,000 people, it is not logical to believe that the contents of the memorandum could serve to identify the informants. The memorandum has been declassified.

RMH:djb *djb*  
(6)

NOTE:

Subject is Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, a black extremist organization with headquarters in Berkeley, California. During the past several months

NOV 15 1968

COMM-FBI

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

3  
Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

59 NOV 15 1968 MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley

NOTE CONTINUED:

Cleaver has been touring the United States speaking as presidential candidate of the Peace and Freedom Party. His speeches have typically contained revolutionary statements which could be violations of statutes proscribing rebellion or insurrection, seditious conspiracy, or overthrow of Government. Enclosures are copies of enclosures to serial 102 of subject's file and enclosure to New York airtel 11/5/68, Bureau file 176-989.

FBI

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

11/14/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AirtelAirmailb6  
b7CALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, ALBANY (100-20283) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

(OO: SAN FRANCISCO)

Classified by 30-21AP/RB6  
Declassify on: OADR  
11/7/83

CA#75-6203

Re San Francisco airtel to Bureau dated 11/8/68.

JAMES W. DOHERTY, Chief, Troy Police Department, Troy, New York, advised 11/13/68 that CLEAVER left Troy, New York, following his speech at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute (RPI) Troy, New York, on 10/10/68 heading in the direction of New York City. DOHERTY stated CLEAVER did not stay overnight in Troy, New York.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] advised on 11/13-14/68 that CLEAVER left RPI on the evening of 10/10/68 immediately following the completion of his speech with the intention of traveling directly from Troy to New York City by car. Because of CLEAVER's intentions, no arrangements were made by RPI for him to stay at Troy.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] advised 11/13/68 that to his knowledge CLEAVER left Troy, New York, on 10/10/68 with the intention of traveling to New York City that night.

- (3) - Bureau (RM)
- 3 - San Francisco (RM)
  - (2 - 100-55520)
  - (1 - 157-601) (COINTELPRO)
- 2 - Albany

REC-64 100 - 447251 - 10

6 NOV 16 1968

JEM:pak

(8)

Approved: 36~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

b6  
b7C

61 NOV 21 1968

RACIAL INT. SEC.



AL 100-20283

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DON GUIRY, Investigator, New York State Police, on 11/13/68 and above sources on dates specified, advised that they could furnish no information on [REDACTED] (LNU), [REDACTED], which would show her association with CLEAVER while at Troy, New York.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



VIA TELETYPE

NOV 14 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7C

WCS

WASH DC ---4---

11-15 PM DEFERRED 11-13-68 KH

TO DIRECTOR 100-447251 SAN FRANCISCO 100-55520 PLAINTEXT  
FROM LOS ANGELES 157-2323

b6  
b7C

LEROEY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

BPP, LOS ANGELES, FREE HUEY RALLY TO BE HELD NOVEMBER SEVENTEEN NEXT AT TRADE TECHNICAL COLLEGE, FOUR HUNDRED WEST WASHINGTON BOULEVARD, LOS ANGELES FROM ONE THIRTY PM TO FIVE THIRTY. SPEAKERS INCLUDE ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, CHARLES GARY, CHIEF COUNCIL FOR CLEAVER AND NEWTON, MELVIN NEWTON, CHAIRMAN NEWTON CLEAVER DEFENSE FUND, OSCAR ACOSTA, CHIEF COUNCIL, "MEXICANO THIRTEEN" AND BROWN BERETS, REVERAND JAMES DONALDSON AND RICHARD WASSERSTROM, PROFESSOR OF LAW AND PHILOSOPHY AT UCLA AND RALLY CHAIRMAN ADMINISTRATOR. BUREAU IN POSSESSION OF CHARACTERIZATION OF BPP AND BROWN BERETS. LOCAL AGENCIES AWARE. LOS ANGELES WILL AFFORD COVERAGE AND SUBMIT LHM.

XEROX-Rosen  
ENDCC MR. [REDACTED]  
ROOM 836 9&D

b6  
b7C

REC 36

100-447251-126

6 NOV 15 1968

RM FBI WASH DC  
COPY SENT AG AND IDIU

TELETYPE TO:

61 NOV 22 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

F B I

Date: NOVEMBER 14, 1968

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via TELETYPE URGENT  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR (100-447251) (MAIL) & [redacted] b6 b7C  
SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

FROM: MILWAUKEE (157-620)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RM - BPP, OO: SAN FRANCISCO

RE YOUR TEL OCTOBER TWENTYFOUR LAST. W

[redacted] ADVISED

b6  
b7C  
b7D

INSTANT DATE THAT HE HAD DETERMINED THROUGH [redacted]

[redacted] THAT SPEAKING ENGAGEMENT SET FOR  
CLEAVER ON NOVEMBER FIFTEEN NEXT HAD BEEN CANCELLED.[redacted] COULD NOT ADVISE IF THE CANCELLATION WAS  
DONE BY THE COLLEGE OR BY CLEAVER.

REC-24

100-447251-127

1-Bureau (100-447251) (Air Mail - Registered)  
1-Milwaukee (157-620)  
RCD/els  
(2)

b6  
b7C

61 NOV 25 1968

NOV 16 1968

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

FBI WASH DC

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Class. & Ext. By SA-SP36/DB

Reason - FCIM II, 1-2.4.2

Date of Review 11-2-88

FBI SAN FRAN

5:24 PM DEFERRED 11-2-68 KCK

TO DIRECTOR

FROM SAN FRANCISCO

YOUTH INTERNATIONAL PARTY, (SM) - MISC. LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, (RM - BPP).

RACIAL MATTER -

BLACK PANTHER

PARTY

A SOURCE ADVISED THAT A PRE-ELECTION RALLY WAS SPONSORED BY THE YOUTH INTERNATIONAL PARTY (YIPEE) AND BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP) AT BERKELEY, CALIFORNIA COMMUNITY CENTER ON NIGHT OF NOV. ONE, LAST. JERRY RUBIN AS LEADER OF YIPEE PARTY SPOKE AND ASSERTED THAT ONLY THOSE AGED SEVEN OR YOUNGER HAD ENOUGH REVOLUTIONARY POTENTIAL. RUBIN WAS UNPOPULAR WITH AUDIENCE AND LEFT STAGE AFTER BEING HOOTED DOWN BY THE CROWD.

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, MINISTER OF INFORMATION OF BPP, ADDRESSED THE AUDIENCE. CLEAVER CLAIMED TO BE "STONED." HE ASKED FOR AND RECEIVED A "JOINT" WHICH HE LIGHTED WHILE ON STAGE. CLEAVER ASSERTED THAT HE WOULD TAKE REFUGE IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY AND SURROUND HIMSELF WITH GUNS IN ORDER TO AVOID GOING BACK TO THE PENITENTIARY. CLEAVER STATED HE WOULD KILL ANYONE WHO TRIED TO EXTRACT HIM. CLEAVER STATED HE WOULD KILL SAN FRANCISCO MAYOR ALIOTO.

100-447251  
NOT RECORDED  
162 NOV 13 1968

ADMINISTRATIVE:

(U) SOURCE IS [REDACTED] WHO FURNISHED INFORMATION ON [REDACTED] MEMO  
FOLLOWS. b2 b7D

END

ELR

FBI WASH DC

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

MR. [REDACTED]

b6 b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-447251

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

FBI

Date: 11/5/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, CHARLOTTE (157-6294) (P)

①  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Re Charlotte airtel to Bureau 10/22/68.

On 10/24/68 [redacted]

[redacted] Raleigh, N. C., advised that he planned to be present at the appearance of CLEAVER at Duke University 11/7/68 and would tape CLEAVER's speech and make a copy of the tape available.

b6  
b7C

On 10/24/68 [redacted]

[redacted] advised she planned to attend the speeches by CLEAVER scheduled for Duke University 11/7/68 and North Carolina College 11/8/68. She indicated that she would take copious notes of these presentations and then if subpoenaed would gladly testify as to what she heard.

b6  
b7C

On 10/31/68 [redacted]

[redacted] Duke University, Durham, N. C., advised notification was received from CLEAVER that his probation officer would not permit CLEAVER to appear at Duke University 11/7/68 or North Carolina College 11/8/68; however, CLEAVER did indicate that he would make these speeches on 12/11/68 and 12/12/68.

b6  
b7C

3-Bureau RM  
2-San Francisco RM  
3-Charlotte  
2--157-6294  
1--157-6171

CSM:pgl  
(8)

b6  
b7C

REC 36100-44723

ST-113

1-604

NOV 26 1968

Approved: [signature]

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

56 NOV 26 1968

F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

CE 157-6294

LEADS:SAN FRANCISCOAT SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

Will, through CLEAVER's probation officer, determine if and when CLEAVER will appear in Durham, N. C. Notification should be afforded the Charlotte Division in time to make arrangements for full coverage of these appearances.

2

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: 11/19/68

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

Referral/Direct

ReBulet to San Francisco, 11/6/68, which included

As to CLEAVER's disassociation from The Peace and Freedom Party (P&FP), he has always maintained that he is a member of the BPP and not the P&FP, and his only connection with the P&FP is that they had nominated him as their Presidential Candidate. Inasmuch as the election has passed, there is no longer a reason for a relationship to exist.

A review of the San Francisco file discloses no information on which a determination can be made that Mid-Western P&FP leaders suspect CLEAVER has become mentally unbalanced. Such an opinion could possibly have come about as a result of Subject's Omaha, Nebraska speech given on 8/24/68, when the Nebraska P&FP was attempting to gain recognition as a legitimate party and appear on that State's ballot. His speech on that occasion was obscene and inflammatory.

At an Orange County P&FP meeting held on 9/11/68 at Santa Ana, California, the membership indicated their displeasure at the fact CLEAVER did not follow the Southern California Platform at the P&FP Convention, however, there was no indication leadership thought he was unbalanced.

2 - Bureau  
2 - San Francisco  
FL:ay  
(4)

ST-103

REC 98/100-447251-129

NOV 21 11 31 AM 1968

NOV 21 1968

RECEIVED SECT.

58 NOV 25 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 09-06-2006 BY AUC 60324-BAM/CPB/EL

SF 100-55520  
FL:ay

As to the report that the BPP intends to spirit CLEAVER out of the country, SF sources have reported nothing to this effect. CLEAVER himself has stated on numerous occasions that he will "die before going back (to prison)" (Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute 10/10/68); or that he will depend on the BPP and the Black community to hid him out (Intermediate School, Brooklyn, N.Y. on 10/13/68). In each case where the SFO has been made aware of such statements his parole officer has been advised.

Sources have been alerted to all of these possibilities and the Bureau will be advised of any positive results.



VIA TELETYPE

NOV 20 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter\_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy\_\_\_\_\_

1: / &

WA 8 549PM RMF

URGENT 11-20-68 RMF

TO DIRECTOR SAN FRANCISCO CODE

SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON

FROM CHICAGO 157-3385

WCS

b6  
b7C

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER RM -BPP OO SAN FRANCISCO.

SOURCE, RELIABLE IN PAST, ADVISED INSTANT, SIGN ON  
DISPLAY IN RACIALLY TENSE CRANE JUNIOR COLLEGE, CHICAGO,  
INDICATING CLEAVER WILL SPEAK THAT COLLEGE TWELVE NOON  
NOVEMBER TWENTYSIX NEXT. SOURCE NOTED MAY MERELY BE  
CROWD DRAWING DEVICE OF AFRO-AMERICAN GROUP ON CAMPUS.

---ADMINISTRATIVE---

SAN FRANCISCO, THROUGH SOURCES, ASCERTAIN IF CLEAVER WILL  
BE IN CHICAGO AREA ON OR ABOUT NOVEMBER TWENTY SIX NEXT. SUTEL.

MILITARY, CHICAGO POLICE DEPARTMENT ADVISED. LHM FOLLOWS  
WITH COPIES TO USA AND SECRET SERVICE. SOURCE IS

b2  
b7D

R.

END

WLM R RELAT RELAY

FBI WASH DC

EX-103

REC-9 106-447251-130

12 NOV 22 1968

TELETYPED TO: 242  
9 DEC 2 - 1968  
31/78

MR. [REDACTED]  
ROOM 536 340

b6  
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60389  
Domestic Intelligence Division  
TAM/MLT/EHL

## INFORMATIVE NOTE

11-25-68

Date

Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of Black Panther Party, is scheduled to return to prison in California on 11-27-68 because of parole revocation. He has made repeated public statements that he does not intend to go back to jail. Attached shows that California authorities are considering arresting subject in advance.

Pertinent information in attached is being furnished to the Inter-Division Information Unit, the Internal Security Division, and Criminal Division of the Department.

*ga*  
RMH:sfw  
*Q*

*WCS*  
*w*

F B I

Date: 11/21/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL  
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP  
RACIAL

Re Bureau airtel to San Francisco, dated 11/14/68.

On 11/18/68, [redacted] advised that he had recently conversed with the Subject regarding his statements to the effect that he would not allow himself to be returned to prison. [redacted] said that the Subject stated he would wait for [redacted]

b6  
b7C

[redacted] further advised that subsequent to this conversation with the Subject, the Subject's [redacted]

b6  
b7C

[redacted] advised that [redacted] call was apparently prompted by his, [redacted] discussion with CLEAVER on this matter.

b6  
b7C

[redacted] advised that recently [redacted]

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

C. C. [redacted]  
3 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - San Francisco  
FL:kra  
(5)

b6  
b7C

REC 49

EX-113

12 NOV 23 1968

b6  
b7C

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

56 DEC 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

RACIAL INT. SECT.

SF 100-55520  
FL:kra

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

In each instance where the San Francisco Office has become aware of a statement made by the Subject to the effect that he will not be returned to prison this information has been furnished to the Subject's parole officer so he can be fully aware of all his pronouncements.

On 11/15/68, [REDACTED] and [REDACTED] Special Services Unit, Department of Corrections, San Francisco, called at this office to talk with SAC BATES concerning possible actions on the part of CLEAVER as he approaches the date on which he may have to return to prison.

b6  
b7C

The Department of Corrections has considered having him report daily as time approaches. They are also considering getting an undated warrant for his arrest in order that it can be used promptly as a basis of CLEAVER's arrest should he leave the state without permission. This warrant would be based on Section 3056 PC.

Other San Francisco sources have only been able to advise of CLEAVER's public statements and utterances to the effect that he will rely on the BPP and the Black community to hide him and that he will die before being returned to prison. They have no insight as to his actual plans and have heard of no plans to spirit him out of the country.

[REDACTED]

b2  
b7D

The San Francisco Office is urging the Department of Corrections Office contacts to attempt to secure the court's authority to effect an arrest of the Subject prior to 11/27/68.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

BA  
FBI WASH DC

NOV 21 1968

TELETYPE

FBI SAN FRAN

517 11-21-68 DEFERRED RAM

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251), ALBANY, BALTIMORE, BOSTON, CHICAGO,  
DENVER, EL PASO, HOUSTON, KANSAS CITY, LOS ANGELES, NEWARK,  
NEW YORK, OMAHA, PITTSBURGH, SACRAMENTO, SAN DIEGO  
SEATTLE, AND ST. LOUIS  
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

b6  
b7C

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER; RM - BPP.

CALIFORNIA STATE SUPREME COURT ON NOVEMBER TWENTY, LAST,  
REFUSED TO REVIEW LOWER COURT'S DECISION TO ALLOW CALIFORNIA  
DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS TO REVOKE SUBJECT'S PAROLE WHICH THE  
LOWER COURT ORDERED EFFECTIVE NOVEMBER TWENTYSEVEN, NEXT. SAN  
FRANCISCO SOURCES HAVE NO PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE OF ANY PLANS BY  
SUBJECT TO LEAVE THIS COUNTRY, ALTHOUGH THIS POSSIBILITY HAS  
BEEN CONSIDERED BY SUBJECT. PUBLIC AND PRIVATE STATEMENTS BY  
SUBJECT INDICATE HE DOES NOT WANT TO LEAVE COUNTRY AND HE WILL  
DEPEND ON BPP AND BLACK COMMUNITY TO HIDE HIM OUT.

CALIFORNIA DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTION AGENTS ARE ATTEMPTING  
TO OBTAIN OPEN WARRANT WHICH CAN BE EXECUTED AT ANY TIME SHOULD  
SUBJECT ATTEMPT TO LEAVE CALIFORNIA WITHOUT PERMISSION. ATTEMPTS  
BEING MADE TO ENCOURAGE EARLY ARREST. 100-447251-133

END PAGE ONE

10 NOV 26 1968

DEC 6 - 1968

PAGE TWO

ALL RECEIVING OFFICES SHOULD BE ALERT TO POSSIBILITY  
OF BPP DISTURBANCES WHICH MAY BE PLANNED TO DRAW ATTENTION  
TO CLEAVER'S RE-ARREST AND RETURN TO PRISON.

END AND HOLD

SLB

FBI WASH DC

*Xerox-Rosen*

MR

ROOM 836 S&D

b6  
b7C

FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Date: 11/4/68

DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC

Transmit the following in

TAM/MLT/EHL

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIRMAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

Enclosed for the Bureau are 8 copies of an LHM  
suitable for dissemination.

Captain STAN CAREY, Santa Clara Police Depart-  
ment, Santa Clara, California, advised on 10/25/68, that  
he provided no coverage for Subject's speech at the  
Santa Clara University on 10/9/68.

b7D

b6  
b7C  
b7D

If a copy of Subject's speech obtained, it will  
be transcribed and submitted to the Bureau by LHM.

AGENCY: ACST, ~~NY~~ SEC. SERV.,  
DEPT: ISD, ~~CH~~ IDIU

HOW FORW: R/S

DATE FORW: 11/25/68

BY: R.M.H. *handwritten*

ENCLOSURE

EX-100

REC-9 100-4472-133

16 NOV 7 1968

3 - Bureau (Encs. 8) (RM)

2 - San Francisco

FL:kra

b6  
b7C

Approved:

56 DEC 4 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

November 4, 1968

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Copies of this LHM were provided locally to Intelligence agencies of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and the United States Attorney and Secret Service.

On October 25, 1968, Captain Stan Carey, Santa Clara Police Department, Santa Clara, California, advised that Leroy Eldridge Cleaver spoke at Santa Clara University during the evening hours of October 9, 1968, to approximately 2,500 individuals. The occasion was a symposium on "Black America: Evolution or Revolution" sponsored by this Catholic University. His speech was very obscene and he used obscenities in attacking presidential candidates Richard Nixon, Hubert Humphrey and George Wallace.

Following is a copy of an article appearing in the San Francisco Examiner on issue of October 10, 1968, regarding the above appearance:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

COPIES DESTROYED

343 MAY 4 1971

ENCLOSURE

100 - 447251 - 133

## 3000 Cheer at Santa Clara

# Cleaver Comes Out Swinging Again

Special to The Examiner

SANTA CLARA — Eldridge Cleaver left his scholarly robes across the Bay and resumed his brass knuckle attacks before 3990 cheering spectators at Santa Clara University last night.

Although circumspect Tuesday at the University of California, Cleaver cut loose early in the Catholic University's symposium on "Black America: evolution or revolution" with attacks on the state and local power structure.

### BLANKED

In addition to Gov. Reagan, to whom he dedicated a three-stanza chant song entitled "(blank) Ronald Reagan," he added several San Francisco officials to his list of those he considers responsible for oppression of black people.

San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto and Police Chief Tom Cahill were compared to various figures in world history for their handling of the Patrolman Michael O'Brien case.

He returned, after a long harangue against Reagan, Max Rafferty, the district court of appeals, Richard Nixon, Hubert Humphrey and George Wallace, to his favorite theme that there is no middle ground in the fight against racism:

"You're either the problem or the solution, dig?"

### INJUSTICES

He recited a long history of injustices he asserted left no room "for the oppressors to

believe they have any rights from the oppressed."

Although he said he would deny it later, he shouted that he would not be returned to prison (as ordered by a district court of appeals decision now being appealed) "because I am not guilty of any crime." He said he would find refuge in the black community and amongst the white radicals.

He warned that "our secular Jesus, Huey Newton" must be released from prison or the blacks would storm the prison with guns and release him "like you would have your own Jesus Christ, if you had seen him on the cross. Or would you have?"

### CONVERTED

He told the audience that he had been converted to Catholicism for "about a year" at a reformatory in Whittier,

because the Catholic Church there had been the only haven for Negroes and Mexican-Americans.

He left the church when a priest misunderstood his comparison of the trinity with three-in-one oil, he explained, adding that he had not meant to be facetious in the comparison, only that this was the only way he could understand the conception.

He swung to the Black Muslims "because I could relate to their talk of guns. There are guns everywhere in our lives, all around us, dig?"

### CHALLENGE

He repeated his challenge of Reagan to a duel, stating that "even if he chooses marshmallows as his weapons, I'll beat him to death with that."

Along with "people power, black power, red power and

yellow power," Cleaver said it was time for "lecturer power" so the students of the universities could hear the lecturers of their choice.

Cleaver's \$400 fee for his appearance was said to be below the \$1000 he is currently asking because his Santa Clara University appearance was scheduled last July.

DATE: 04-27-2006

~~SECRET~~

CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1)

04-27-2031

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT

WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

VIA TELETYPE

NOV 22 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

WA 05

1201PM DEFERRED 11-22-68 MS

TO DIRECTOR PLAINTEXT

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520) 1P

b6  
b7C

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RM - BPP

SUBJECT APPEARED AND SPOKE TO APPROXIMATELY FIVE HUNDRED PEOPLE AT THE CALIFORNIA HALL, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF., DURING THE EVENING HOURS OF NOVEMBER TWENTYONE, LAST, AT FUND RAISING RALLY SPONSORED BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE TO DEFEND ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. THIS COMMITTEE RECENTLY FORMED TO CREATE PUBLIC PRESSURE TO PREVENT CLEAVER BEING RETURNED TO PRISON ON NOVEMBER TWENTYSEVEN, NEXT, WHEN HIS PAROLE IS SCHEDULED TO BE REVOKED. A COLLECTION WAS TAKEN AT THE RALLY. CLEAVER'S TALK WAS NOSTALGIC AND WAS MOSTLY CONCERNED WITH THE PROSPECT OF RETURNING TO PRISON.

LOCAL AND STATE AUTHORITIES PREVENTED A THREE DOLLAR ADMISSION CHARGE BEING COLLECTED BECAUSE LIQUOR WAS BEING SERVED WITHIN THE HALL AND AN ART AUCTION WAS DISALLOWED BECAUSE THE COMMITTEE HAD NOT OBTAINED AN AUCTION PERMIT.

ADMINISTRATIVE

SOURCE UTILIZED IS [REDACTED]

LHM FOLLOWS.

END

TELETYPE TO:

~~SECRET~~

PAC FEB 1968

cc-MR. [REDACTED]

ROOM 836 9&D

b6  
b7C

REC-65

EX-104

NOV 26 1968

(37)

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-161321) RUC.

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM-BPP

DATE: 11/26/68

ReBulet to SF dated 10/21/68, entitled as above; and NY airtel to Bureau dated 10/17/68, entitled "LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER ARL".

NYO has no additional information to report concerning subject's speech at Junior High School 258, Brooklyn, New York, on 10/13/68, beyond the details set forth in referenced NY airtel. All reported activity of the subject in the NY area has been furnished to the Bureau and SF. Inasmuch as the subject is presently located in SF, this matter is being RUCd at the present time.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

- 2- Bureau (RM)  
2- San Francisco (RM) (100-55520)  
2- New York  
(1- 176-355)

VJA:tf  
(6)

100-447251-135  
16 NOV 27 1968

REC'D  
FBI  
NOV 27 1968

b6  
b7C



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2008 BY 60309  
Domestic Intelligence Division  
TAM/MLT/EHL

## INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 11/26/68

Eldridge Cleaver, Black Panther Party official, is scheduled to return to prison in California on parole revocation 11/27/68. In public speeches he has indicated he would not return but he and attorney have since notified parole officer Cleaver will submit to arrest.

International Defense Committee to effect release of Cleaver has been set up and plans to send representatives to Europe to publicize case. Plans include demonstrations at United States embassies. Supporters include many well-known individuals with reputations for supporting liberal causes.

Pertinent information in attached and concerning Cleaver defense committee furnished to Inter-Division Information Unit, Internal Security Division and Criminal Division of Department and will be included in teletype summary to White House, Attorney General and other interested agencies.

RMH:sfw  
  


ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

WA -----02-----

VIA TELETYPE

NOV 26 1968

ENCIPHERED

931PM DEFERRED 11-25-68 CRW

TO DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251) PLAINTEXT.

FROM SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520) /1P/

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. DeLoach ✓  
Mr. Mohr ✓  
Mr. Bishop ✓  
Mr. Casper ✓  
Mr. Callahan ✓  
Mr. Conrad ✓  
Mr. Felt ✓  
Mr. Gale ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Sullivan ✓  
Mr. Tavel ✓  
Mr. Trotter ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Miss Holmes ✓  
Miss Gandy ✓

RACIAL MATTERS -  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER; RM-BPP. BLACK PANTHER PARTY

ON ELEVEN TWENTYFIVE SIXTYEIGHT, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ADVISED CALIFORNIA DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS HAS WRITTEN A LETTER TO SUBJECT ADVISING HIM THAT HIS PAROLE HAS BEEN REVOKED EFFECTIVE ELEVEN TWENTYSEVEN SIXTYEIGHT AND HE IS ORDERED TO PRESENT HIMSELF AT THE FIRST FLOOR CONFERENCE ROOM AT THE CALIFORNIA STATE BUILDING IN SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA ON THAT DATE AT WHICH TIME HE WILL BE TAKEN INTO CUSTODY AND RETURNED TO PRISON.

[REDACTED] ADVISED THAT NO UNUSUAL PLANS HAVE BEEN FORMULATED AT THIS TIME TO BE PUT INTO EFFECT SHOULD SUBJECT FAIL TO APPEAR. USUAL PROCEDURE WOULD BE TO AWAIT A "REASONABLE" TIME AND SHOULD HE FAIL TO APPEAR, ISSUE AN ALL POINTS BULLETIN SEEKING HIS ARREST AS A FUGITIVE. AN UNDATED WARRANT HAS BEEN OBTAINED WHICH CAN BE EXECUTED SHOULD THE SUBJECT LEAVE THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA BEFORE HIS ARREST. SUBJECT HAS NOT BEEN ASKED TO REPORT TO HIS PAROLE OFFICER DAILY IN REMAINING DAYS AS PREVIOUSLY CONSIDERED.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

BUREAU TELEPHONE  
RE BUTELCALL TO SAN FRANCISCO THIS DATE, AND SAN FRANCISCO AIRTEL TO BU

TO BU ELEVEN TWENTYONE SIXTYEIGHT.

END  
89 DEC 6-1968  
RM FBI WASH D C GA

TELETYPED TO:

FTB

ROOM 836 9&D

12 NOV 27 1968

b6  
b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: 11/27/68

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

Re Butel 11/27/68, entitled ELDRIDGE CLEAVER; RM-BPP,  
which stated that one [redacted] had called the Bureau  
claiming to have information on Subject.

Prior to the call to the Bureau, [redacted] had also  
contacted the San Francisco Office by telephone. He had been  
handed a leaflet by an unknown Negro at a supermarket and  
he seemed to be rather incensed at the efforts indicated on the  
leaflet to "Free CLEAVER." This refers to CLEAVER's obligation  
to report back to the California Parole Authority on 11/27/68,  
after revocation of his parole because of involvement in  
possession of firearms 4/6/68. [redacted] made the statement "he  
would get one of the troublemakers." He did not sound  
particularly rational. Under the circumstances there seems  
to be no point in contacting [redacted] again since he had no  
other information.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - San Francisco

APC/jr  
(3)

EX-115

REC-9/100-447251-137

12 NOV 29 1968

b6  
b7C

RECEIVED  
FBI  
SECT.

51 DEC 12 1968



VIA TELETYPE

NOV 27 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter\_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy\_\_\_\_\_

WASHDC--5--

12:26AM

DEFERRED 11-27-68 JJK

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251) PLAINTEXT

FROM LOS ANGELES (157-2323) 1P

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RM - BPP

RELATEL TO BUREAU ELEVEN TWENTYSIX LAST

[REDACTED] LAPD INTELLIGENCE ADVISED TWELVE PM INSTANT  
DEMONSTRATION AT CALIFORNIA STATE BUILDING ONE ZERO SEVEN  
SOUTH BROADWAY CONTINUING. NO INCIDENTS AND [REDACTED] BELIEVES  
DEMONSTRATORS ARE ROTATING THEIR SHIFTS. APPROXIMATELY SIX  
PERSONS PRESENT.

END

HFL

FBI WASH DC

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU

TELETYPED TO:

MR. [REDACTED]  
ROOM 836 9&D

FTB 56 DEC 6 1968

b6  
b7C

REC 36

100-447251-138

18 NOV 29 1968

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC  
ON 04-06-2006

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

11-29-68

CODE

TELETYPE

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

(TO LEGAT OTTAWA) (U)

FROM DIRECTOR FBI

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RM-BPP

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
URGENT

DATE

CLASSIFIED AND  
EXTENDED BY  
REASON FOR EXTENSION  
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW FOR  
DECLASSIFICATION

COOPERATIVE

SOURCE ADVISED FURTHER THAT THERE IS  
REPORT ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, HAD LEFT LOS ANGELES

b6  
b7C  
b7D

BOBBY SEALE, CHAIRMAN, BPP,

ALSO REPORTED

LOS ANGELES HAS ADVISED THAT WILL BE

AVAILABLE AND NO INFORMATION THERE THAT CLEAVER OR SEALE

LOS ANGELES INFORMANT OR OTHER BUREAU

INFORMANTS IN ATTENDANCE AT CONFERENCE SHOULD BE ABLE TO VERIFY  
THIS REPORT.

19 DEC 2 1968

SAN FRANCISCO OFFICE IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH USA'S OFFICE, SF,  
AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES REGARDING UFAC PROCESS FOR CLEAVER. USA  
HAS CONSULTED DEPARTMENT SEVERAL TIMES TODAY RE THIS MATTER AND

STILL FEELS THAT THERE IS NOT SUFFICIENT REASON TO BELIEVE CLEAVER  
HAS LEFT STATE OF CALIFORNIA TO IS

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (detached)

GEB:msm

ENCIPHERED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

[CABLEGRAM TO OTTAWA] (U)  
RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

b2  
b7D

SUBSEQUENT TO ABOVE, [REDACTED] ADVISES  
THAT BOBBY SEALE IN OAKLAND AFTERNOON OF NOVEMBER TWENTYNINE  
INSTANT.

ALERT APPROPRIATE AUTHORITIES.

CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

VIA TELETYPE

NOV 26 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

1: / &

WA-11 935PM RFJ

DEFERRED 11-26-68 RFJ

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251)

CODE

FROM CHICAGO (157-3385) (P)

b6  
b7C

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER RM DASH BPP 00. SAN FRANCISCO

SOURCE, RELIABLE IN PAST, ADVISED INSTANT CLEAVER  
DID NOT APPEAR CRANE JUNIOR COLLEGE, CHICAGO THIS DATE.  
ADMINISTRATIVE.

REMYTEL NOVEMBER TWENTY, LAST. AM COPY TO SAN  
FRANCISCO. MILITARY, USA, SECRET SERVICE TO BE ADVISED  
BY LHM WHICH FOLLOWS. SOURCE IS

b6  
b7C

EFH

FBI WASH DC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 1-13-81 BY SP-2 JH/CI

EX-117  
REC-19

100-447251-140

4 DEC 2 1968

54 DEC 9 - 1968

TELETYPED TO: 75

MR. [REDACTED]

CC ROOM 836 9&D

b6  
b7C

VIA TELETYPE

NOV 27 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

WASHDC---2---

9-40 PM URGENT 11-26-68 RJM

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251) (PLAINTEXT)

FROM LOS ANGELES (157-2323) 2P)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER (RM-BPP) RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

SPECIAL AGENTS OF FBI MADE FOLLOWING OBSERVATIONS AT  
NOON NOVEMBER TWENTY SIX INSTANT ON BROADWAY STREET ENTRANCE  
TO STATE OFFICE BUILDING, ONE ZERO SEVEN BROADWAY, LOS  
ANGELES--

ABOUT TWELVE PERSONS INCLUDING FIVE NEGROES, INVOLVED  
IN PICKETING OPERATION, ALSO DISTRIBUTING LEAFLETS INDICATING  
DEMONSTRATION BEING HELD FROM NOON NOVEMBER  
TWENTY SIX INSTANT AND CONTINUING INDEFINITELY IN SUPPORT OF  
CLEAVER. INTERVIEW OF ONE OF DEMONSTRATORS BY NEWSPAPER  
REPORTER OVERHEARD WHICH INDICATED DEMONSTRATION SPONSORED  
BY NEWTON DASH CLEAVER DEFENSE COMMITTEE, LOS ANGELES.  
PERSON INTERVIEWED INDICATED DEMONSTRATION BEING HELD AT  
THIS LOCATION AS THIS BUILDING HOUSES STATE PAROLE OFFICE.

TELETYPED TO:

ATBJS

56 DEC 12 1968

25 DEC 2 1968

PAGE TWO

LA 157-2323

PLACARDS CARRIED BY DEMONSTRATORS READ---"FIRST HUEY,  
NOW ELDRIDGE, THEN YOU"; "AFTER ELDRIDGE, WHO?"; "DON'T LET  
THE PIGS MURDER ELDRIDGE"; "IF WE DON'T DEFEND THE PANTHERS,  
WHO WILL DEFEND US".

NO INCIDENTS NOTED. TV COVERAGE EXTENSIVE. COVERAGE  
BEING MAINTAINED THROUGH SOURCES. BUREAU WILL BE KEPT  
ADVISED.

END

RM FBI WASH D C GA

*Xerox-Rosen*  
*AD-1014*

MR.

ROOM 836 9&D

b6  
b7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

NOVEMBER 27, 1968

PLAINTEXT

TELETYPE

DEFERRED

1 - Mr. Sullivan b6  
1 - Mr. [REDACTED] b7C

TO: SAC SAN FRANCISCO

FROM: DIRECTOR, FBI

F

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RM - BPP

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED], TELEPHONE NUMBER

[REDACTED] TELEPHONICALLY

CONTACTED BUREAU [REDACTED]

AND ADVISED HE HAD SOME LITERATURE AND INFORMATION HE  
WISHED TO FURNISH REGARDING ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. HE  
DESIRED TO BE CONTACTED BY AN AGENT CONCERNING THIS  
MATTER.

UNLESS INFORMATION KNOWN TO YOUR OFFICE WOULD  
INDICATE TO THE CONTRARY, CONTACT [REDACTED] AND OBTAIN  
ANY INFORMATION HE MIGHT HAVE OF INTEREST TO BUREAU.

SULHM UNDER APPROPRIATE CAPTION.

REC-32

100-447251/49

NOTE: Complainant telephonically contacted

19 NOV 27 1968

EDS [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JJB:mfd  
(4)

59 DEC 6-7 1968

MAIL ROOM [ ] TELETYPE UNIT [ ]

VIA TELETYPE  
157A  
NOV 27 1968  
ENCIPHERED



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

November 26, 1968

CODE

TELETYPE

URGENT

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

TO SACs BALTIMORE  
DENVER  
HOUSTON  
LOS ANGELES  
NEWARK

NEW YORK  
SACRAMENTO  
SAN DIEGO  
SAN FRANCISCO  
SEATTLE

FROM DIRECTOR FBI

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RM-BPP.

SAN FRANCISCO SHOULD INSTRUCT INFORMANTS TO MAINTAIN  
CLOSE CONTACT WITH SUBJECT IN ORDER TO KNOW IF HE PLANS TO  
AVOID RETURNING TO PRISON. OTHER OFFICES ALERT INFORMANTS  
IN VIEW OF SUBJECT'S PUBLIC STATEMENTS THAT HE DOES NOT  
INTEND TO RETURN TO PRISON, WILL HIDE IN BLACK COMMUNITY,  
AND MAY GO TO CUBA. ANY INDICATION OF ACTION TO PREVENT  
SUBJECT'S IMPRISONMENT SHOULD BE IMMEDIATELY FURNISHED TO  
SAN FRANCISCO AND BUREAU. SUBJECT DUE TO SURRENDER NOVEMBER  
TWENTY-SEVEN AT SAN FRANCISCO. HAS NOTIFIED PAROLE OFFICER  
HE WILL DO SO.

VIA TELETYPE  
NOV 26 1968  
ENCIPHERED

REC-32

19 NOV 27 1968

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

RMH:1km  
(3)

54 DEC 6 - 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☒

TELETYPE TO SAC BALTIMORE, ET, AT.  
RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

NOTE:

Cleaver is Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party and has been on parole since 12/66 after serving 8 years for assault with a deadly weapon (attempted rape). His parole was revoked in 4/68 after his involvement in a gun battle with Oakland, California police. He was successful in avoiding return to prison until 9/27/68 when California Court of Appeals upheld parole revocation order and gave him 60 days in which to appeal before order effective. California Supreme Court refused to hear appeal.

DATE: 04-06-2008

CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1)

04-06-2031

Classification per OGA letter

dated 01-30-2006

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT

WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

November 27, 1968

CODE

URGENT

TO LEGAT MEXICO

FROM DIRECTOR FBI

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RM-BPP

1 - Mr. Rosen

1 - Mr. Gale

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

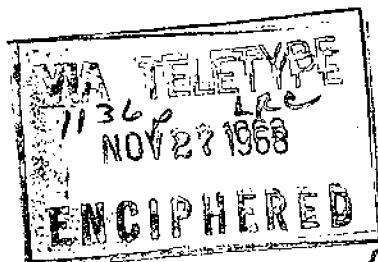
b6

b7C

SUBJECT IS MINISTER OF INFORMATION, BLACK PANTHER PARTY. CALIFORNIA AUTHORITIES REVOKED PAROLE EFFECTIVE NINE A.M., NOVEMBER TWENTY-SEVEN INSTANT. SUBJECT DID NOT APPEAR AND LOCAL WARRANT ISSUED. WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN TO BUREAU INFORMANTS AND WIFE CLAIMS HAS NOT SEEN HIM SINCE NOVEMBER TWENTY-FOUR LAST. SUBJECT HAS STATED HE WILL NOT RETURN TO JAIL AND EXPECTS BLACK COMMUNITY TO HIDE HIM. POSSIBILITY SUBJECT MIGHT FLEE TO CUBA ALTHOUGH NO FACTS TO INDICATE HE HAS DONE SO. LEGAT ALERT MEXICAN AUTHORITIES AND [REDACTED] SUBJECT'S PHOTO IN BLACK NATIONALIST PHOTO ALBUM. FEDERAL UNLAWFUL FLIGHT WARRANT HAS NOT BEEN ISSUED.

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)

RMH:ekw  
(7)



REC 44

100-447251-144

19 NOV 29 1968

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
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Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

56 DEC 6 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☒

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

FBI

DATE 05-01-2006 BY 60309 AUC

TAM/DCG/EHL

Date: 11/26/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL - REGISTERED

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

b6  
b7C

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520) - P

RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPPRe San Francisco airtel to Bureau, 11/21/68, and  
Butelcall to San Francisco 11/26/68.Enclosed for the Bureau are eight (8) copies of  
LHM suitable for dissemination.

Sources utilized in LHM are as follows:

First Source

Second Source

Third Source

b2  
b7DLHM is classified confidential inasmuch as it contains  
data which could reasonably result in the identification of  
confidential informants of continuing value and compromise  
future effectiveness thereof.Bureau will be advised what CLEAVER does on the day  
he is due to report.

REC-19

100-447251-145

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 8) (AM-RM)  
2 - San Francisco

b6

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FL/jr  
(5)

ENCLOSURE - 1

R. 151

C. C. Bishop

AGENCY

HOW FORW:

DATE FORW:

BY:

b2

54 DEC 1 1968

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

San Francisco, California  
November 26, 1968

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL  
ON 12-02-2005

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Copies of this memorandum have been furnished locally to the Army, Navy, and Air Force, U. S. Secret Service, and United States Attorney.

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, Black Panther Party (BPP), in April, 1968, after becoming involved in a shootout with the Oakland Police Department at Oakland, California, had his parole revoked by the California Department of Corrections. A subsequent court action brought by CLEAVER in Solano County, California, resulted in his being released in June, 1968, when Superior Court Judge RAYMOND J. SHERWIN ordered the release, stating CLEAVER's parole had been revoked illegally because of his political beliefs. This decision was overruled by California Supreme Court in September, 1968. The Supreme Court gave CLEAVER sixty days or until November 27, 1968, at which time this court ruled that his parole should be revoked and he should be returned to prison.

The U. S. Supreme Court on November 26, 1968, declined to review the case.

A characterization of the BPP is contained in the appendix.

On November 18, 1968, [redacted] at San Francisco, California, advised he had recently conversed with CLEAVER regarding his statements to the effect that he would not allow himself to be returned to prison. [redacted] said CLEAVER stated he would wait for [redacted] in his, CLEAVER's, office when [redacted] was ordered to arrest him as he did not want to get shot.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Group 1  
~~Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and declassification~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ENCLOSURE

100-447251-145

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

[ ] further advised that subsequent to this conversation with CLEAVER, CLEAVER's [ ]

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On November 21, 1968, a source advised [ ]  
[ ] CLEAVER's at Ramparts magazine, where CLEAVER is employed, that CLEAVER stated he would not turn himself in to the California Parole Authority as ordered by the court on November 27, 1968. Further, that CLEAVER had

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A second source advised that at a pre-election rally held at the Berkeley Community Center, Berkeley, California, November 1, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER stated he would take refuge in the black community and surround himself with guns in order to avoid being returned to prison.

Other San Francisco sources have only been able to advise of similar public statements and utterances made by CLEAVER. These sources have no insight as to his actual plans and have heard of no plans by the BPP or anyone else to spirit CLEAVER out of the country.

Other statements attributed to CLEAVER concerning his probable return to prison on November 27, 1968, include, "I'll die before going back" and that he would depend upon the BPP or

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

the black community to hide him out. The prior statement was made at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute in New York on October 10, 1968, and the latter having been made at Intermediate School, Brooklyn, New York, October 13, 1968.

A third source advised [redacted] that in recent days a [redacted] inquiring as to whether CLEAVER was sincere in stating he would die before going back to prison. [redacted]  
[redacted]

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On November 26, 1968, [redacted] KCBS Radio Station, San Francisco, advised that attorney CHARLES GARRY had told the press on this date that he had talked to CLEAVER as late as Sunday, November 24, 1968, and CLEAVER at that time indicated he would comply with any instructions of his Parole Officer to include turning himself in on November 27, 1968.

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The foregoing statement by GARRY to the press was substantiated by taped interview with GARRY which was played over Radio Station KSFO in San Francisco on November 26, 1968, at noon.

On November 25, 1968, [redacted] [redacted] advised that the California Department of Corrections has written a letter to CLEAVER advising him that his parole will be revoked effective November 27, 1968, and he is ordered to present himself at the first floor conference room at the California State Building in San Francisco, California, on that date at 9:00 a.m. He will be taken into custody and returned to prison at that time.

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[redacted] advised that no unusual plans have been formulated to be put into effect should CLEAVER fail to appear as ordered. Usual procedure would be to await a "reasonable" time and should he fail to appear, issue an All Points Bulletin seeking his arrest as a fugitive. An undated warrant was

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

obtained which can be executed should CLEAVER attempt to leave the San Francisco Bay area prior to his arrest on November 27, 1968. CLEAVER was not asked to report to his Parole Officer daily in the remaining days as had been previously considered by the Department of Corrections.

This will confirm information furnished orally on November 25, 1968, to Department Attorneys Paul Vincent, Internal Security Division; Sylvia Bacon, Criminal Division; and Albert C. Hayden, Inter-Division Information Unit.

*added  
to Bureau  
to copies  
sent 11/29/68  
Criminal Division*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka  
Black Panther Party for  
Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality," to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California  
November 26, 1968

Title LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Character

Reference San Francisco memorandum dated as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: 11/8/68

FROM: SAC, SAN DIEGO (157-526) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
(OO: San Francisco)

b6  
b7C

Reference is made to Bureau airtel to Albany and other offices dated 10/21/68, requesting that San Diego submit transcript and tape of the speech of subject CLEAVER on 10/4/68.

Reference is also made to San Diego letter to the Bureau dated 10/23/68, enclosing a Letterhead Memorandum (LHM) regarding CLEAVER's appearance in San Diego the weekend of 10/4/68 and submitting as a part of the LHM a transcript verbatim of CLEAVER's speech furnished via tape recorded by [redacted] (PROB) on 10/5/68 and transcribed by SA [redacted]

Enclosed herewith to the Bureau is the tape of CLEAVER's speech at the University of California at San Diego on 10/5/68.

As further explanation, the speech was originally recorded on 10/4/68 by [redacted] on a tape recorder using the Cassette-type tape. On 10/5/68, this recording of [redacted] was trans-recorded on a Bureau Roberts Recorder at 3 3/4" per second on channels 1-8 by SA [redacted] and [redacted]. This recording by SA [redacted] and [redacted] is the recording being transmitted herewith to the Bureau. Because of the length of recording time on Cassette-type tape, the speech was interrupted when the tape was turned over and when changed.

- ② - Bureau (Enc. 1) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (100-55520) (RM)
- 3 - San Diego  
(2 - 157-526)  
(1 - 100-13978)

HDW:mt  
(7)

ENCLOSURE

25 NOV 8 1968

RACIAL  
SECRET

57 DEC 9 1968

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b7C

SD 157-526



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b6  
b7C  
b7D

VIA TELETYPE  
NOV 27 1968  
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2009 BY 60309 A  
TAM/MLT/EHL

WASHDC--9--

5:18PM DEFERRED 11-27-68 SLA

TO DIRECTOR (100-44251) AND SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)  
FROM LOS ANGELES (157-2323) IP

PLAINTEXT

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. RM-BPP.

RELATES TO BUREAU, NOVEMBER TWENTY SIX, LAST AND  
TWENTY SEVEN, INSTANT.

LAPD ADVISED TWO PM INSTANT, <sup>Vigil</sup>~~VIRGIL~~ AT CALIFORNIA STATE  
BUILDING, ONE ZERO SEVEN SOUTH BROADWAY, IN SUPPORT OF  
CLEAVER, ENDED APPROXIMATELY ELEVEN THIRTY AM, INSTANT.  
<sup>VIGIL</sup>~~VIRGIL~~ ENDED, ONLY NINE PERSONS PRESENT.

LOCAL AGENCIES COGNIZANT. EX-114  
LHM FOLLOWS.

END

RDR

FBI WASH DC #6 COPY SENT AG AND IDIU

TELETYPED TO:

54 DEC 9 - 1968

ROOM 836 9&D

b6  
b7C

DEC 2 1968

REC-51

100-447251-147

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 50309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

CODE

November 27, 1968

TELETYPE

URGENT

TO LEGAT OTTAWA

FROM DIRECTOR FBI

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RM-BPP

1 - Mr. Rosen  
1 - Mr. Gale  
1 - Mr.   
1 - Mr.

b6  
b7C

2 -

SUBJECT IS MINISTER OF INFORMATION, BLACK PANTHER PARTY.  
CALIFORNIA AUTHORITIES REVOKED PAROLE EFFECTIVE NINE A.M.,  
NOVEMBER TWENTY-SEVEN INSTANT. SUBJECT DID NOT APPEAR AND LOCAL  
WARRANT ISSUED. WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN TO BUREAU INFORMANTS AND  
WIFE CLAIMS HAS NOT SEEN HIM SINCE NOVEMBER TWENTY-FOUR LAST.  
SUBJECT HAS STATED HE WILL NOT RETURN TO JAIL AND EXPECTS BLACK  
COMMUNITY TO HIDE HIM. POSSIBILITY SUBJECT MIGHT FLEE TO CUBA  
ALTHOUGH NO FACTS TO INDICATE HE HAS DONE SO.

b7D

PHOTO IN BLACK NATIONALIST PHOTO  
ALBUM. FEDERAL UNLAWFUL FLIGHT WARRANT HAS NOT BEEN ISSUED.

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (Route through for review)

RMH:ekw  
(7)

VIA TELETYPE

NOV 28 1968

ENCIPHERED

REC 107

100-44722 148  
19 NOV 29 1968

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

61 DEC 3 1968

TELETYPE UNIT



November 30, 1968  
SPECIAL INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION

Attached teletype indicates United States Attorney (USA) Poole, San Francisco, received written request from local authorities for assistance under the unlawful flight statute in seeking arrest of Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, the Black Panther Leader who did not appear after local parole revoked 11-27-68 by California authorities.

After reviewing letter, USA Poole did not issue Federal warrant since local authorities have no definite indication to date Cleaver left California. According to San Francisco Office, USA Poole consulted Department several times 11-29-68 concerning this case. Matter being closely followed and investigation pressed in event Federal warrant issued.

INFORMATION CONTAINED  
PAM:ike  
IS UNCLASSIFIED  
12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC

BT/END

*Handwritten signature/initials*

VIA TELETYPE

NOV 29 1968

ENCIPHERED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

WA -----02-----

330PM URGENT 11-29-68 MS  
TO DIRECTOR (100-447251) PLAINTEXT  
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520) 2P

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER; RACIAL MATTER; BLACK PANTHER PARTY;  
Unlawful Flight to Avoid Confinement  
POSSIBLE UFAC

BUREAU SAN FRANCISCO  
REBUCCALL AND SF CALL THIS DATE.  
CONTACT HAS BEEN MAINTAINED WITH LOCAL AUTHORITIES

CONCERNING CLEAVER'S WHEREABOUTS AND UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID  
CONFINEMENT PROCESS EXPLAINED TO THEM. ON MORNING NOVEMBER  
TWO NINE INSTANT, MR. JOHN P. OAKES, DEPUTY ATTORNEY GENERAL, STATE  
OF CALIFORNIA, ADVISED THAT HE BELIEVED FBI ASSISTANCE DESIRABLE  
AND CONSIDERED IT POSSIBLE THAT CLEAVER HAS TRAVELLED IN INTER-  
STATE OR FOREIGN COMMERCE TO AVOID CONFINEMENT. HE ADVISED HE  
United States Attorney Unlawful Flight to Avoid Confinement  
WOULD CONTACT USA POOLE AND REQUEST THAT UFAC PROCESS BE ISSUED.

MR. POOLE WAS ALERTED BY AGENTS OF THIS OFFICE TO THIS DEVELOPMENT.  
OAKES AND POOLE THEREAFTER IN CONSULTATION AND USA AGREED TO ISSUE  
PROCESS PROVIDED STATE'S EVIDENCE OF INTERSTATE FLIGHT SUFFICIENT.  
HE REQUESTED LETTER FROM OAKES OUTLINING THE STATE'S POSITION.  
UPON RECEIPT OF THIS LETTER AND AFTER REVIEWING IT, MR. POOLE HAS

TELETYPED TO:

COPY SENT TO MR. TOLSON

RACIAL INT. SECT.

NOV 29 1968

PAGE TWO

ADVISED THAT HE DOES NOT FEEL STATE HAS DEFINITE INDICATION CLEAVER  
HAS LEFT THE STATE AND EXPRESSED PERSONAL OPINION THAT BELIEVES  
CLEAVER MAY STILL BE IN CALIFORNIA. <sup>United States Attorney</sup> USA PLANS FURTHER CONTACT  
WITH STATE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE IN EVENT FURTHER INFORMATION  
POSSESSED OR RECEIVED BY THEM. THIS MATTER BEING FOLLOWED VERY  
CLOSELY TO PROTECT BUREAU'S INTEREST AND BUREAU WILL BE IMMEDIATELY  
ADVISED OF ANY FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS.

END

VXC

FBI WASH DC

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

~~CC- MR. CASE~~

12/4/68

Airtel

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]  
(Rm 1517)  
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

To: SAC, San Francisco (100-55520)

From: Director, FBI (100-447251)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

News reports attribute information to the California Department of Corrections that subject might have received help from an underground organization to leave the country. Determine the basis for this report and advise the Bureau.

RMH:cng  
(5)

NOTE:

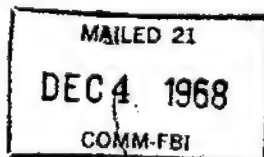
Subject failed to report 11/27/68 to California authorities after revocation of parole and whereabouts unknown. No information has been received from San Francisco Office concerning allegation referred to above.

EX-103

REC-126

100-447251-150

DEC 4 1968



ENCLOSURE

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
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Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
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Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
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Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

56 DEC 11 1968 TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

**Trans Himself In**

STONEHAM, Mass. — A third man sought in the slayings of three men in the offices of a self-help organization Nov. 13 walked into police headquarters and surrendered, police said.

Dennis Chandler, 29, of Boston's Roxbury section, was taken to Boston and charged with murder. A warrant for his arrest had been issued earlier.

Police said Chandler was accompanied by a lawyer.

Two other men were arrested Tuesday in connection with the shooting at the New England Grass Roots Organization — NEGRO. Two other men were wounded in the attack. The victims and their assailants all were Negroes.

After the shooting, police said robbery apparently was the motive.

**Cleaver Hunted**

SAN FRANCISCO—Police were doing "everything that can be done" to capture Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver, as speculation mounted that he had fled the country.

"Everything is being done . . . to bring this man into custody," said a police spokesman. But he wouldn't answer specific questions about the hunt.

Cleaver, 33-year-old author and information minister for the Panthers, didn't show up Wednesday for return to prison on a conviction of assault with intent to kill and assault with a deadly weapon.

The California Department of Corrections received information that Cleaver might have gotten help from

an underground organization to leave the country.

But the police spokesman said the FBI hasn't been asked to join the search.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AU  
 TAM/MLT/EHL

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 b7C

Washington Post **A-7**  
 Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
 Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
 The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Daily World \_\_\_\_\_  
 The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
 The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
 People's World \_\_\_\_\_  
 Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

Date 11-29-68

100-447251-150

ENCLOSURE

file-5

Airtel to SAC, SF  
 12/2/68  
 12/2/68  
 12/2/68

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309  
TAM/MLT/EHL 01  
WASHINGTON--

VIA TELETYPE

NOV 28 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter\_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy\_\_\_\_\_

5:28 PM 11-27-68 URGENT PLAINTEXT MXG

TO: DIRECTOR, PHOENIX, SAN DIEGO, DALLAS, AND OKLAHOMA CITY.  
FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RM-BPP

RE SF TEL ELEVEN TWENTY-SEVEN, NO COPY PHOENIX, DALLAS, OKLAHOMA CITY.

[REDACTED] SFPD, ADVISES THAT [REDACTED] IM-  
PERIAL, CALIF. CALLED COP, SF, TO REPORT MOONEY SINGLE ENGINE, MARK  
TWENTY-ONE PLANE PILOTED BY NEGRO AND CARRYING THREE PASSENGERS RE-  
FILLED THERE SOMETIME BEFORE TWO THIRTY PM NOVEMBER TWENTY-EIGHT AND  
TOOK OFF FOR TUCSON, ARIZ. PLANE NUMBER N TWO NINE THREE FOUR L,  
BELIEVED RENTED BY [REDACTED] EAST PALO ALTO, CALIF. FROM SAN JOSE,  
CALIF FLYING SERVICE. ACCORDING TO [REDACTED] ONE PASSENGER HAD  
BEARD AND ANSWERED DESCRIPTION OF SUBJECT.

FOR INFO RECEIVING OFFICES, SUBJECT DID NOT TURN SELF IN NINE  
AM NOVEMBER TWENTY-SEVEN AT SAN FRANCISCO UPON REVOCATION OF PAROLE  
AND WARRANT OF ARREST ISSUED BY CALIFORNIA ADULT AUTHORITY, DEPT.  
OF CORRECTIONS FOR VIOLATION OF PAROLE. ABP ISSUED ELEVEN TWENTY-  
SEVEN PHOTO AND DESCRIPTION IN BLACK NATIONALIST ALBUM. NO UFAC  
PROCESS.

END PAGE ONE

TELETYPED TO:

54 DEC 1 1968

REC-35

6 DEC 2 1968

PAGE TWO

SF (100-55520)

SUBSEQUENT INFORMATION IS THAT PLANE LEFT TUCSON FOR LUBBOCK,  
TEXAS WHERE DUE TO ARRIVE SEVEN PM ENROUTE OKLAHOMA.

SFPD INTERESTED IN KNOWING IF SUBJECT IN PLANE. RECEIVING  
OFFICES ALERT LOCAL AUTHORITIES FOR WHAT ASSISTANCE POSSIBLE AND TO  
DETERMINE PLANE DESTINATION. [REDACTED] NOT KNOWN TO SF OFFICE.

b6  
b7C

END  
LRC FBI WASH DC

CC - MR [REDACTED]  
ROOM 836 9&D

b6  
b7C



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

FBI

DATE 04-06-2006 BY 60309 UC

Date: 12/3/68

Transmit the following in  
TAM/DOC/EHL

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM : SAC, SEATTLE (157-843)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

Re San Francisco teletype to Bureau, 11/27/68.

On December 1, 1968, 7 p.m., [redacted]  
Seattle PD, Central Complaint Center, advised SPC [redacted]  
[redacted] that an anonymous call had just been received at Seattle  
PD, believed from a Negro male, that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER was then  
at Seattle Black Panther Party Headquarters (BPP), 1127 1/2 - 34th  
Avenue. [redacted] advised no cars would be dispatched as it  
was felt that this call was a "set up" for an ambush of Seattle  
Police cars.

b6  
b7C

On December 1, 1968, SA [redacted] contacted  
Source reported back [redacted]

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

The substance of this information was relayed to the  
Seattle PD in general terms. EX-102

Seattle sources have been alerted to report immediately  
CLEAVER's whereabouts if learned.

- ③ - Bureau  
2 - San Francisco (100-55520)  
2 - Seattle  
CNG/dks  
(7)

REC 58

100-447251-158

DEC 4 1968

b6  
b7C

DEC 13 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

RACIAL INT. SEC

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 29 1968

TELETYPE

INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC

TAM/MLT/EHL

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC

FBI DALLAS

1209 AM URGENT 11-29-68 JRW

TO DIRECTOR, PHOENIX, SAN DIEGO, OKLAHOMA CITY, ALBUQUERQUE, AND

SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

FROM DALLAS

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RM - BPP.

Referral/Direct

RE SAN FRANCISCO TEL ELEVEN TWENTYEIGHT INSTANT.

FORINFO ALBUQUERQUE, RE TEL ADVISED SAN FRANCISCO PD ADVISED THAT

END PAGE ONE

b6  
b7C  
b7D

54 DEC 1 2 1968

DEC 2 1968

PAGE TWO

b7D

[REDACTED]

FOR INFO RECEIVING OFFICES, SUBJECT DID NOT TURN SELF IN NINE AM NOVEMBER TWENTY-SEVEN AT SAN FRANCISCO UPON REVOCATION OF PAROLE AND WARRANT OF ARREST ISSUED BY CALIFORNIA ADULT AUTHORITY, DEPT. OF CORRECTIONS FOR VIOLATIONS OF PAROLE. APB ISSUED ELEVEN TWENTY-SEVEN. PHOTO AND DESCRIPTION IN BLACK NATIONALIST ALBUM. NO UFAC PROCESS.

SUBJECT DESCRIBED NEGRO MALE, BORN AUG. THIRTYONE, THIRTYFIVE, LITTLE ROCK, ARK., HEIGHT SIX FT. TWO INCHES, ONE NINE ZERO LBS., MEDIUM BUILD, BLACK HAIR, BROWN EYES, AND FPC - TWO FOUR L THIRTEEN OVER TWO U OVER U ZERO ZERO M OVER ZERO ZERO I NINETEEN OVER FIFTEEN. SUBJECT'S PHOTO APPEARS DECEMBER ISSUE OF "PLAYBOY" MAGAZINE.

ALBUQUERQUE THROUGH ASSISTANCE OF DEMING PD, DETERMINE WHETHER SUBJECT IDENTICAL WITH [REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED] AT DAYLIGHT, NOV. TWENTYNINE, NEXT. NOTIFY INTERESTED OFFICES OF RESULTS.

SUBJECT MAY BE ARMED AND SHOULD BE CONSIDERED ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

END

SVM

FBI WASH DC

MR [REDACTED]  
ROOM 836 9&D

b6  
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

November 29, 1968

b6  
b7C

EX-113  
REC-25 100-447251-154

Mrs. [redacted]  
[redacted]

b6  
b7C

Dear [redacted]

I have received your letter of November 22nd and understand the concern which prompted you to write.

In reply to your inquiry regarding Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, the FBI is strictly an investigative agency of the Federal Government and, as such, does not determine whether prosecutive action will be undertaken in any situation. Such decisions concerning violations of Federal law are within the province of the Attorney General. Voluminous data regarding Cleaver have been furnished to the Attorney General and you may wish to contact him.

Cleaver is affiliated with the Black Panther Party, and I am enclosing a copy of my statement before the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence which contains on page 11 a brief report on the activities of this organization.

I want to assure you that the FBI is aware of its responsibilities with respect to the internal security of our country. We will continue to make every effort to carry out our duties with the highest degree of thoroughness and dispatch.

Sincerely yours,  
J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosure

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record of correspondent. Leroy Eldridge Cleaver is the Minister of Information for the Black Panther Party and is the subject of Racial Matters--Black Panther Party investigation. Cleaver was scheduled to return to prison in California on 11-27-68 on a revocation of his parole.

JBT: [redacted] (3)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

b6  
b7C

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAILED 8  
NOV 29 1968  
COMM-FBI

54 DEC 1 1968

14  
27

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-02-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

November 22, 1968

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover  
Director of Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

*2-1*  
*Bel*  
*Leroy Eldridge Cleaver*

I read in my morning paper this date an article on Eldridge Cleaver, written by Williams Buckley. This is just one more of the many things I find hard to believe, that a person such as this man is allowed to run loose in our country. I am interested in some information from you if possible.

Back in July of this year, Walter Winchell carried an article about one Leroy Cleaver, who was paid \$500.00 to appear before the Northern California-Nevade Conference of the United Methodist Church. Now I am a member of the United Methodist Church in Orlando, Florida, ( College Park Methodist Church ) and I am keenly interested in knowing if these two people are one and the same. I am sick of the trend in which our country seems to be going, and I am not pleased with the attitude that our church has taken on various issues, so I am seeking information in order to lodge a complaint, and at the same time requesting some answers to some of my questions concerning my church.

*pp*

I feel strongly that it is time Americans began to stand up for what is right for our country and demand that what is not right be dealt with severely.

Thanking you for your attention to this matter, I remain

Sincerely yours,

*W*  
Mrs

Mrs

b6  
b7C

REC-25

EX-113

ACK:

JBT/pk

CORRESPONDENCE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-05-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
DATE: December 4, 1968  
TAM/MLT/EHL

Mr. Gale

b6  
b7C

FROM

LEREOY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

SUBJECT: RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
UNLAWFUL FLIGHT MATTER

b6  
b7C  
Tavel  
Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Holmes  
Gandy

With regard to captioned individual who is a leader of the extremist Black Panther Party and who is being sought by California parole authorities, our San Francisco Office is continuing to closely follow this matter with state authorities and with the U. S. Attorney concerning possible FBI assistance under the Unlawful Flight Statute.

The U. S. Attorney in San Francisco has advised that to date no concrete information has come to his attention from which he could make a reasonable inference that Cleaver has left the State of California. Therefore, the U. S. Attorney is not inclined to authorize an unlawful flight investigation at this time. Our San Francisco Office advises that the California Department of Corrections is the agency primarily responsible for Cleaver's return to prison. Cleaver's parole was revoked by California authorities in April, 1968, after he had been arrested along with several other Black Panthers who had been involved in a gun battle with the Oakland, California, police.

Since the California Department of Corrections has limited manpower, local police agencies are expected to assist in these type cases. A police official of the San Francisco Police Department has advised that Cleaver's case is being handled as a routine fugitive matter by the fugitive detail of that police department.

EX-113

REC 11

100-447251-155

As a matter of interest, Cleaver is also presently under a \$50,000 bond in connection with charges involving assault with a deadly weapon resulting from the gun battle in April, 1968, with the Oakland police. The bond money has reportedly been provided by [redacted] who is [redacted]

b6  
b7C

## ACTION

The San Francisco Office has been instructed to continue to follow this matter closely and to keep the Bureau advised.

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Gale
- 1 - Mr. [redacted]

b6  
b7C

CWH:lab (7)

61 DEC 17 1968

DEC 6 1968

The U.S. Attorney is "stalling" on this case

cust

\$E

JB

Handwritten signature



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-05-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/DAE: November 29, 1968

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : MR. [REDACTED] b6  
FROM : [REDACTED] b7C

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID CONFINEMENT -  
ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER  
RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Assistant Special Agent in Charge (ASAC) Moreland San Francisco, advised that local authorities were informed of the Bureau's willingness to be of assistance under the Unlawful Flight Statute. Cleaver is the individual who failed to show up on November 27, 1968, in San Francisco for return to prison as a parole violator. Cleaver is a leader of the Black Panther Party who, in April, 1968, became involved in a shoot-out with the Oakland Police Department and had his parole revoked by the California Department of Corrections. Cleaver committed the initial offense of assault with intent to commit murder and assault with a deadly weapon during the commission of rape in November, 1957.

According to ASAC Moreland, the California Attorney General's Office is directly involved in obtaining the return of Cleaver to prison. California Assistant Deputy Attorney General Oakes is considering making a request for Federal assistance and is attempting to gather the necessary information which would establish some basis for a claim of flight from California. California authorities believe the main problem is that sufficient effort has not been expended in California to locate Cleaver.

According to ASAC Moreland, the San Francisco Office is staying right on top of this situation to insure that should Federal assistance be requested and process authorized by the U. S. Attorney, immediate investigation will be undertaken to locate Cleaver.

## ACTION

This matter is being followed closely and all investigation will be pressed in the event Federal process is authorized by the U. S. Attorney.

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan

5 - Mr. [REDACTED]

ABE:LS (6)

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C

REC 11

11 DEC 6 1968

FBI

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RACIAL MATTER



NA - 11/30/68  
FBI WASH DC

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 30 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI CHICAGO

1124 PM URGENT 11-29-68 DJD

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251) AND SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520) AND  
LOS ANGELES  
FROM CHICAGO (157-3385)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-05-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

ONR  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RM-BPP, OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

RE CHICAGO TELEPHONE CALLS TO BUREAU AND SAN FRANCISCO  
INSTANT.

PILOT, AMERICAN AIRLINES (AA), FLIGHT ONE NINETYFOUR, LOS  
ANGELES TO CHICAGO INSTANT, ADVISED VIA COMPANY RADIO AT SIX  
TWENTY PM CST, THAT STEWARDESS SUSPECTED SUBJECT ONBOARD INSTANT  
FLIGHT. FLIGHT LANDED CG SIX THIRTY PM CST. FLIGHT MET BY CG  
PD AND INDIVIDUAL SUSPECTED OF BEING SUBJECT IDENTIFIED AS

\_\_\_\_\_  
DATES OF BIRTH

\_\_\_\_\_  
ADDRESS

\_\_\_\_\_  
SUSPECT,

b6  
b7C  
FIVE FEET ELEVEN INCHES, N. M. RED BUSHY HAIR, ELIMINATED AS  
SUBJECT BY AA SECURITY REPRESENTATIVE

EX-113 REC-65 100-447251-157  
\_\_\_\_\_  
BASED ON FINGERPRINT CLASSIFICATION FURNISHED

END PAGE ONE

57 DEC 12 1968

25 DEC 6 1968

b6  
b7C

~~SECRET~~

DATE: 05-01-2006

CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCM/EHL

Classification per OCA letter  
dated 05-01-2006

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 1 - Mr. [redacted]  
05-01-2031

b6  
b7C

11/18/63

1 - Mr. [redacted]

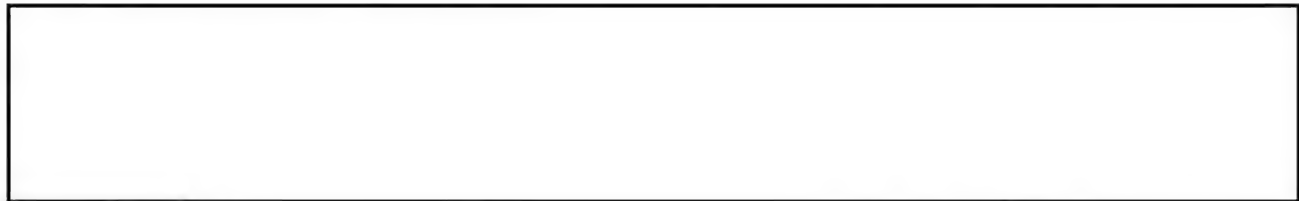
Director, FBI

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE TO DEFEND ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

On page 3 of the 11/2/63 issue of the "Guardian" reference is made to the captioned organization which was formed to create public pressure to prevent Eldridge Cleaver being returned to prison. The coordinator of the committee was named as Carlos Aponte, who is known to be an officer of the Black Panther Party in New York City. Contributions were solicited and the address 495 Beach Street, San Francisco, was given as the location to which they should be sent.

Of particular interest in the statement in the article that "the defense committee is dispatching a team to Europe to build international support for Cleaver and to arrange for a European edition of his best selling book, 'Soul On Ice.'"

Investigation should be conducted to identify the persons associated with this committee. Arrangements should be made to monitor its bank account and details should be obtained concerning the identities of the aforementioned team being sent to Europe. In this connection it is noted that information was previously received indicating that Kathleen Cleaver planned to visit Europe this Fall.



b1

(S)

2 - New York

1 - 100-447251 (Eldridge Cleaver)

RRH:ajb

(S)

100-447251 -

NOT RECORDED

NOV 19 1963

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

DUPLICATE YELLOW

11302  
ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-

59 NOV 1963

~~SECRET~~

FBI

Date: 11/7/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

AIRTEL

(Type in plaintext or code)  
AIRMAIL - REGISTERED**CONFIDENTIAL**

Via \_\_\_\_\_

(Priority)

b6  
b7C

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-52152)

SUBJECT: POSSIBLE STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC  
SOCIETY (SDS) / DISRUPTIVE ACTIVITIES  
IN CONNECTION WITH NATIONAL ELECTIONS,  
NOVEMBER, 1968  
IS - SDS; ELECTION LAWS  
OO: CHICAGO  
(BU 100-439048) LEROY ELDRI  
(SF 100-52152) CLEAVER

YOUTH INTERNATIONAL PARTY, aka Yippies  
IS - MISCELLANEOUS  
OO: NEW YORK  
(BU 100-448910)  
(SF 100-60652)

DEMONSTRATIONS PROTESTING UNITED  
STATES INTERVENTION IN VIETNAM  
(BU 105-138315)  
(SF 100-54559)

AGENCY: G-2, ONI, OSI, SEC. SER.

RAO (ISD, CDD, CD) WNU

DATE FORM: 11/13/68

HOW FORM: WNU/gawBY: WNU/gaw

- 6 - Bureau (Encs. 16) (RM)  
2 - Chicago (Encs. 2) (AM) (RM)  
(1 - 100-40903) (SDS) (INFO)  
(1 - 100- ) (YIP) (INFO)  
3 - New York (Encs. 3) (AM) (RM)  
(1 - 100-162260)  
(1 - 100- )  
7 - San Francisco  
(1 - 100-52152) (SDS)  
(1 - 100-60652) (YIP)  
(1 - 100-54559) (VIDEM)  
(1 - 100-53353)  
(1 - 100-55520) (ELDRIDGE CLEAVER)  
(1 - 157-1204) (BPP)  
(1 - 56-93) (ELECTION LAWS)

GBJ/sms #11  
(18)

ENCLOSURE

291,707  
DECLASSIFIED BY 8123 mch/tam  
ON 5/23/92

20 NOV 9 1968

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b7C

INT. SEC.

DEPT. OF JUSTICE

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-439048-161

Approved: 304

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

NOT RECORDED  
102 NOV 22 1968

Per

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE

56 NOV 26 1968

**CONFIDENTIAL**


SF 100-52152  
GBJ/sms

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Re San Francisco airtel to the Bureau, dated 10/31/68;  
San Francisco teletype to the Bureau, dated 11/2/68; and San  
Francisco teletypes to the Bureau, dated 11/5/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 16 copies of a letterhead  
memorandum regarding demonstrations in the San Francisco area on  
November 5, 1968. Two copies of the letterhead memorandum are  
enclosed for the Chicago Office and three copies are enclosed for  
the New York Office.

b6  
b7C

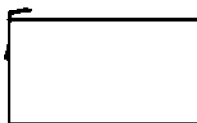
Information regarding the statement by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
that he would kill Mayor ALIOTO of San Francisco was furnished to  
 San Francisco Police Department Intelligence Unit.

Under separate cover, San Francisco will forward the  
obscene literature passed out by the demonstrators.

Efforts will be made to determine the identities of  
those persons arrested during the demonstration.

The sources utilized in the letterhead memorandum are  
as follows:

First Source



(S)

b2  
b7D

Second Source

The letterhead memorandum is classified "Confidential"  
because information furnished by the above-mentioned sources, if  
disclosed, could reasonably result in their identification and  
compromise their future effectiveness.

The following Agents observed the demonstrations:

SA  
SA  
SA  
SA  
SA  
SA  
SA  
SA  
SA



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b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

November 7, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED BY SP5036/DA  
ON 4-9-92

# 291,707  
5/23/92 8123 MCH/TAM

DISRUPTIVE ACTIVITIES IN CONNECTION  
WITH NATIONAL ELECTIONS, NOVEMBER, 1968

Copies of this memorandum are being furnished locally to the intelligence agencies of the United States Army, Navy, and Air Force, and to the United States Attorney, United States Secret Service, and United States Department of State.

On November 2, 1968, a source advised that he had attended a meeting on Friday evening, November 1, 1968, from approximately 8:00 p.m. to 9:30 p.m., at the Berkeley Community Theater, Berkeley, California.

This meeting was concerning election disruption to be carried out by the "Yippies." There were approximately 300 to 400 persons in attendance and the discussion was led by JERRY RUBIN who made remarks in general regarding causing a disruption at every election polling place in San Francisco, Berkeley, Oakland, and Richmond areas.

He was not well received by the crowd and general comments were to make love-ins at the polling places; to have whiskey and beer in the polling booths; and to use matches instead of ink at the polls. There was no specific designation as to how matches would be used at the booths.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
~~GROUP I~~  
~~EXCLUDED FROM AUTOMATIC~~  
~~DOWNGRADING AND~~  
~~DECLASSIFICATION~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-447251-

ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DISRUPTIVE ACTIVITIES IN CONNECTION  
WITH NATIONAL ELECTIONS, NOVEMBER, 1968

The source advised that the next person who spoke at the meeting was a Caucasian by the name of HAYES or possibly HADEN (phonetic), and he stated in essence the same message that RUBIN had tried to give to the meeting, but as he was not well received, the second speaker had more or less restated the same things.

The next speaker was a Negro, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, who made general comments regarding things the Black Panther Party and himself would do to disrupt the election and did not make specific threats as to how they would carry this out, but kept referring to how the Black Panther Party would get guns and shoot up "this and that," not specifically identifying.

The Youth International Party (YIP), also known as Yippies, is a New York-based radical political youth organization established in early 1968.

The "New York Post," a New York City daily newspaper, in its February 2, 1968 issue, Page 12, sets forth an article entitled "Gaily, Gaily, Hippies Going Into Politics," which states in part as follows:

"A new group called Youth International Party (YIP) with a high command of 25 'Yippies' is promoting a fun-and-games youth festival in Chicago during the Democratic National Convention in late August."

The article went on to state that the New York-based organization promised singing, dancing in the streets, poetry, and "making love in the parks" according to the first announcement distributed to radical newspapers by Liberation News Service (LNS) whose co-directors are also on the YIP committee.

JERRY RUBIN described himself as a leader of the Yippie movement, a radical, and a revolutionary.

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER is the Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party (BPP).

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DISRUPTIVE ACTIVITIES IN CONNECTION  
WITH NATIONAL ELECTIONS, NOVEMBER, 1968

A characterization of the BPP is attached hereto.

A second source advised on November 2, 1968, that a pre-election rally was sponsored by the YIP and the BPP at Berkeley, California Community Center on the night of November 1, 1968. JERRY RUBIN, as the leader of the YIP, spoke and asserted that only those aged seven or younger had enough revolutionary potential. RUBIN was unpopular with the audience and left the stage after being hooted down by the crowd.

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information of the BPP, addressed the audience. CLEAVER claimed to be "stoned." He asked for and received a "joint" which he lighted while on stage. CLEAVER asserted that he would take refuge in the black community and surround himself with guns in order to avoid going back to the penitentiary. CLEAVER stated he would kill or have killed anyone who tried to extract him. CLEAVER stated he would kill San Francisco Mayor JOSEPH ALIOTO.

A rally publicly announced as an anti-election demonstration by the Yippies was held at the San Francisco Civic Center plaza from 1:00 p.m. to 3:30 p.m., November 5, 1968. This rally featured entertainers, agitator-propaganda theatre groups which presented an obscene play ridiculing candidates RICHARD NIXON and HUBERT HUMPHREY, and a pig which the speaker claimed represented a candidate of the YIP which was as good as the candidates of the other parties.

At 3:30 p.m., the speaker suggested that the group proceed to the San Francisco Financial District to disrupt the activities in that area and show the people that real power is not in the voting booths.

The rally which was originally organized by JERRY RUBIN, leader of YIP, announced no sponsorship on November 5, 1968, but the group of about 400 present all appeared to be hippie-type with sweet smell of marijuana noted by some observers.

Numerous pieces of literature from all new left and some black militant groups were distributed at the rally.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DISRUPTIVE ACTIVITIES IN CONNECTION  
WITH NATIONAL ELECTIONS, NOVEMBER, 1968

The "San Francisco Chronicle," a San Francisco, California daily newspaper, dated November 5, 1968, showed the following:

"During the financial district invasion, a score of the protesters were arrested as 200 police struggled to keep traffic from being brought to a standstill. Charges here were mostly for obstructing traffic.

"The demonstration centered around Montgomery and Sutter Streets. The demonstrators sat on the sidewalks, built bonfires, scattered stage money around, and filled the air with Indian war whoops.

"The rally and Montgomery Street demonstration were staged by Students For A Democratic Society (SDS), whose officials brought two pigs to Civic Center as 'our candidates for president and vice-president'.

"On the way back from a late afternoon invasion of the financial district by some 400 to 500 demonstrators, bands of protesters stopped at HUMPHREY and NIXON headquarters on Market Street, and yelled anti-war slogans and obscenities at staffers.

"By the end of the day, a smaller band of 100 protesters returned to Civic Center, where it all began, for an election-night vigil in front of City Hall. The vigil was more orderly than sorties earlier in the protest but some 30 police officers were on hand in case of new trouble.

"Before long, however, protesters at the vigil gave up and went home. The weather was just too cold to stay up all night, one said."

JERRY RUBIN was observed at the downtown demonstrations, however, took no part in the disturbances.

A characterization of SDS is attached hereto.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DISRUPTIVE ACTIVITIES IN CONNECTION  
WITH NATIONAL ELECTIONS, NOVEMBER, 1968

There were no incidents involved at the polling places.

The above demonstrations were observed by Special Agents of the FBI.

The "San Francisco Chronicle" indicated that about two dozen demonstrators were arrested on charges ranging from disturbing the peace to lighting bonfires and inciting to riot.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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1

BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka  
Black Panther Party for  
Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat police brutality, to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDREDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon E. RAP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United Press International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us." At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes," the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California

November 7, 1968

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Title                   DISRUPTIVE ACTIVITIES IN CONNECTION  
                          WITH NATIONAL ELECTIONS, NOVEMBER, 1968

~~Character~~

Reference             San Francisco memorandum, dated and  
                          captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Date: 11/13/68

Transmit the following by 105-2006 BY 60309 AUC  
(Type in plaintext or code)

TAM/DCG/EHL

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL - REGISTERED  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706)

FROM: SAC, PORTLAND (157-392) (P)

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RM

O'D 2

b2  
b7D

On [redacted] who has furnished reliable information in the past and who is well acquainted with black militants in the Portland - Eugene area, advised as follows:

b6  
b7C

- 6 - Bureau (AM) (RM)  
 (3 - 105-165706)  
 (1 - 157- ) (ELDRIDGE CLEAVER)  
 (1 - 105-165706-Sub 40) (Portland BPP)  
 (1 - 157-8444) [redacted]
- 7 - San Francisco (AM) (RM)  
 (2 - 157-1204) (BPP)  
 (2 - 157- ) (ELDRIDGE CLEAVER)  
 (1 - 157- ) [redacted]  
 (1 - 157- ) [redacted]  
 (1 - 157-1053) [redacted]
- 3 - Portland  
 (1 - 157-317) [redacted]  
 (1 - 157-392) (BPP)  
 (1 - 157-227) (Possible Racial Violence)

b6  
b7C

100-447251-  
 NOT RECORDED  
 140 NOV 98 1968

CARBON COPY

LEF:lbt  
(16)2  
105-165706-40  
ORIGINAL FILED IN

Approved: [Signature]

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

9 DEC 6 1968 Special Agent in Charge

PD 157-392

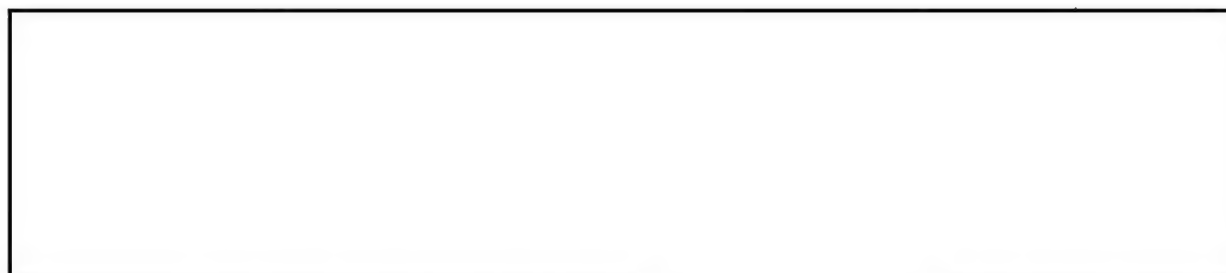
b6  
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b7C  
b7D



b6  
b7C  
b7D



Information concerning [redacted] may be of value to San Francisco in the event incarceration of ELDRIDGE CLEAVER is forthcoming.

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b6  
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b7D

Portland is preparing no further dissemination since to do so would jeopardize [redacted] San Francisco may consider discreet dissemination to local authorities without mentioning [redacted]



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-165706 Sub 26)

DATE: [REDACTED] 68

FROM : SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-1618)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 04-06-2006 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/DCG/EHL

SUBJECT: BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RM - BPP

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

Re Los Angeles teletype to the Director dated  
11/13/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 14 copies of a  
letterhead memorandum suitable for dissemination. Enclosed  
for San Francisco are four copies. The attached memorandum  
is being disseminated locally to Secret Service and local  
military agencies.

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First source referred to below is [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] attended the Free Huey-Cleaver Rally  
on 11/17/68, and was able to tape record the major portion  
of the speeches by MELVIN NEWTON, BOBBY SEALE and ELDRIDGE  
CLEAVER.

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Second source referred to is [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] requested that his identity be kept confidential.

Third source referred to is [REDACTED]

b2  
b7D

The attached memorandum is being classified  
confidential inasmuch as data set forth from sources utilized  
could result in identification of source of continuing value  
and compromise effectiveness thereof.

- ⑥ - Bureau (Encl. 14) (RM)  
③ - 100-477251  
4 - San Francisco (157-1899) (Encl. 4) (RM)  
    (1 - [REDACTED])  
    (1 - [REDACTED])  
    (1 - 100-55520)  
3 - Los Angeles  
    (1 - 157-2323)  
    (1 - 157-2935)

b6  
b7C

100-477251 -  
100-477251 -  
NOT RECORDED  
46 NOV 25 1968

RHR/djy  
(13)

ENCLOSURE

105-165706-596-5  
ORIGINAL FILED IN

LA 157-1618

Los Angeles will transcribe the tapes of the speeches made and furnish them in a form suitable for dissemination along with copies of the tapes for the Bureau.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Los Angeles, California  
November 19, 1968

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL  
ON 12-07-2005

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RACIAL MATTER

A source who has provided reliable information in the past advised that on November 17, 1968, a rally was held by the Black Panther Party (BPP) (See Appendix) at 404 West Washington Boulevard, Los Angeles, at the Trade Technical College. The rally sponsored as the Free Huey-Cleaver Rally was organized by the Newton-Cleaver Defense Committee. The address of this committee was given as 619 South Bonnie Brae, Los Angeles, California. This is the address for the Peace and Freedom Party (PFP), a legally constituted political party in California, which supported peace candidates in the last election and ran Eldridge Cleaver as their presidential candidate.

A flyer advertising the rally listed the following speakers:

Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information, BPP;

Charles Garry, Chief Counsel for Eldridge Cleaver and Huey P. Newton (Minister of Defense BPP);

Melvin Newton, Chairman, Newton-Cleaver Defense Committee and Minister of Finance BPP;

Oscar Acosta, Chief Counsel, "Chicano 13" and Brown Berets (See Appendix). The "Chicano 13" are 13 Mexican Americans currently under indictment in Los Angeles for conspiracy to disrupt the Los Angeles School System;

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

ENCLOSURE

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

100-447251-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RACIAL MATTER

Reverend James Donaldson and Richard Wasserstrom, Professor of Law and Philosophy, University of California, Los Angeles, and Rally Chairman.

The flyer stated:

"DON'T LET RONALD REAGAN AND THE CALIFORNIA ADULT AUTHORITY SILENCE ELDRIDGE CLEAVER BY CLAPPING HIM INTO PRISON ON THE PRETEXT OF 'PAROL VIOLATION'. CLEAVER WILL BE BACK IN PRISON WITHIN 2 WEEKS UNLESS WE, THE PEOPLE SPEAK OUT."

A second source who wished his identity concealed advised that on November 7, 1968, [redacted] for the Cleaver-Newton Defense Fund made arrangements for the

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The first source also advised he attended the Newton-Cleaver Rally on November 17, 1968. Source advised that the rally began at 2:00 p.m. and lasted about two hours. Source advised that the speeches were very short except for Melvin Newton, Bobby Seale and Eldridge Cleaver.

Source advised that Newton spoke about Cleaver and his brother, Huey Newton, and how they started out as youths. Source advised that Newton stated that Cleaver observed how the system was not for the Negroes and set about to change it. Newton referred to the American system as a prostitute and the capitalist as the pimp. Newton also enumerated a number of ways each individual could do his part and basically said that everyone should try to do his thing.

Source stated that Newton was followed by Bobby Seale, Chairman of the BPP. Seale's speech dealt primarily with the fact that the Negro has always been up against the wall and that he should now free himself from the wall of racism. Seale referred to all the major candidates as

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BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RACIAL MATTER

racists "pigs" and that President Elect Richard Nixon and President Johnson were both advocating more wars. Seale also made remarks about Negroes "taking" what they have been denied in the past, and that those who take what they want are only rebelling against a system that has deprived them in the past. Seale stated that Newton and Cleaver had organized this "taking" to benefit the Negro and aid the cause of Negro liberation.

Source advised that Seale was followed by Cleaver. According to source, Cleaver's speech was very mild compared to speeches in the past. Cleaver stated that the Department of Correction in California had only started to harass him after he had begun his fight for liberation of the Negro. Cleaver stated that the only time the system persecuted him was when he (Cleaver) began talking politics and telling the Negro to rebel against the system. Source advised that Cleaver's speech was all inclusive and more or less dealt with the fact that if the Negro did not do something about the racist power structure in America, then the bombs would start falling and it would be America's fault. Cleaver stated that the Negro should destroy, "orderly", anything; police force, chief of police, Supreme Court or a president, which stands in the way of solving the problems of the world..

Source advised that Cleaver's speech was well received by an estimated crowd of between 1,000 to 1,500 Negroes and white. Source advised that he had heard that several people had been arrested outside the auditorium by Los Angeles Police Department for narcotics violations, but other than that no incidents occurred.

A third source who has provided reliable information in the past advised that at the Black Panther Rally at Trade Technical College on November 17, 1968, approximately 2,000 to 2,500 persons attended. Source advised that the rally was chaired by Richard Wasserstrom, a professor from the University of California at Los Angeles. The speakers at the rally were as follows: Oscar Acosta, Reverend James Donaldson, Melvin Newton, Bobby Seale, Mike Lee, a member of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) (See Appendix) from San Fernando State College, Northridge, California, Charles Garry and Eldridge Cleaver.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RACIAL MATTER

Source advised that all the speeches were centered around the black liberation movement and also the need for everyone to do their part. Source advised that several of the speakers made direct appeals for financial help for the defense of Huey Newton and Eldridge Cleaver.

Source advised that the crowd was very orderly and no incidents occurred. Source advised that several persons outside the assembly hall were questioned by the Los Angeles Police Department on possible narcotics violations but no arrests were made due to any incident arising out of the speeches.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
Also Known As  
Black Panther Party for Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality", to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service", states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAPP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

APPENDIX~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



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1

APPENDIX

STUDENTS FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), as it is known today, came into being at a founding convention held at Port Huron, Michigan, in June, 1962. The SDS is an association of young people on the left and has a current program of protesting the draft, promoting a campaign for youth to develop a conscientious objector status, denouncing United States intervention in the war in Vietnam, and to "radically transform" the university community, and provide for its complete control by students. GUS HALL, General Secretary, Communist Party, USA, when interviewed by a representative of United States International in San Francisco, California, on May 14, 1965, described the SDS as a part of the "responsible left" which the Party has "going for us". At the June, 1965, SDS National Convention, an anti-communist proviso was removed from the SDS constitution. In the October 7, 1966, issue of "New Left Notes", the official publication of SDS, an SDS spokesman stated that there are some communists in SDS and they are welcome. The national headquarters of this organization as of July 24, 1968, was located in Room 206, 1608 West Madison Street, Chicago, Illinois.

APPENDIX

- 6 -

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

APPENDIX

LOS ANGELES LOCAL - SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (LAL-SWP)

On May 10, 1968, a confidential source advised that the LAL-SWP has been in existence since the 1930's and continues to exist. The source further advised that the LAL-SWP is a local branch of the National SWP with aims and purposes identical to those of the National SWP.

The SWP has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

APPENDIX

- 7 -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

YOUNG CHICANOS FOR  
COMMUNITY ACTION  
Also Known As  
Brown Berets

The Young Chicanos for Community Action, also known as Brown Berets, was formed during 1967 within the predominantly Mexican-American eastside of Los Angeles. The Young Chicanos for Community Action acquired the name Brown Berets when they identified themselves as a group by wearing brown berets and Khaki Army fatigue jackets. The group has approximately 35 active members.

In 1968, DAVID SANCHEZ, Prime Minister of the Brown Berets, prepared a booklet entitled, "The Birth of a New Symbol - the Brown Beret Manual". This booklet states in part as follows: "For over 120 years, the Mexican-American has suffered at the hands of the Anglo Establishment. He is discriminated against in schooling, housing, employment, and in every other phase of life... Because these injustices have existed and the Anglo Establishment shows no sign of changing them, and because the cries of individuals have gone unheard and fallen upon deaf ears, a group of Young Chicanos have come together under the name of the Brown Berets to demand an immediate end to the injustices committed against the Mexican-American".

This manual also states that the purpose of the Brown Berets is summed up in its motto: "TO SERVE, OBSERVE AND PROTECT". According to the manual, the portion of the motto, "TO PROTECT", means "To protect, guarantee, and secure the rights of the Mexican-American by all means necessary. How far we must go in order to protect these rights is dependent upon those in power. If those Anglos in power are willing to do this in a peaceful and orderly process, then we will be only too happy to accept this way. Otherwise, we will be forced to other alternatives".

The manual also sets forth the Ten Point Program of the Brown Berets as follows:

APPENDIX CONTINUED

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~APPENDIX CONTINUED

YOUNG CHICANOS FOR  
COMMUNITY ACTION  
Also Known As  
Brown Berets

1. Unity of all our people regardless of age, income or political philosophy.
2. The right of bi-lingual education as guaranteed under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.
3. We demand that the true history of the Mexican-American be taught in all schools in the five Southwest states.
4. We demand a Civilian Police Review Board made up of people who live in our community.
5. We demand that all police officers in the Mexican-American community, must live in the community and must speak Spanish.
6. To want an end to Urban Renewal Programs that replace our barrios with high rent homes for middle class people.
7. To demand a guaranteed annual income of \$5,000 for all Mexican-American families.
8. We demand that all Mexican-Americans be tried by juries consisting of only Mexican-Americans.
9. We demand that the right to vote be extended to all of our people regardless of ability to speak the English language.
10. We demand the right to keep and bear arms to defend our communities against racist police, as guaranteed under the Second Amendment of the U.S. Constitution.

APPENDIX CONTINUED~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3

APPENDIX CONTINUED

YOUNG CHICANOS FOR  
COMMUNITY ACTION

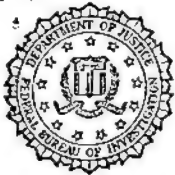
Also Known As  
Brown Berets

Since its inception, the Brown Beret organization has concentrated mainly on protests against the Los Angeles City School System, claiming discrimination against Mexican-American students. Several members of the Brown Berets have been arrested for disruption of Los Angeles City Schools.

APPENDIX

- 10\* -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



*In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.*

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California  
November 19, 1968

Title	BLACK PANTHER PARTY
Character	RACIAL MATTER
Reference	Los Angeles letterhead memorandum dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 19 1968 *mw*

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

*WKS*

FBI WASH DC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-07-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

FBI SAN FRAN

1219PM DEFERRED 11-19-68 MS

TO DIRECTOR & CLEVELAND (157-1680)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (157-2614) (RUC) 1P

b6  
b7C

ALLEGED THREATS OF ACTS OF ARSON, KENT UNIVERSITY CAMPUS, KENT  
OHIO, NOVEMBER SIXTEEN-SEVENTEEN, SIXTYEIGHT; RM

RE CLEVELAND TEL TO BUREAU AND SAN FRANCISCO, AND SAN FRANCISCO  
TEL TO BUREAU AND CLEVELAND, NOVEMBER EIGHTEEN, LAST.

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] CALIFORNIA STATE DEPARTMENT  
OF CORRECTIONS, ADVISED THIS DATE THAT ELDRIDGE CLEAVER WILL NOT  
BE ALLOWED TO TRAVEL OUTSIDE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA UNTIL ACTION IS  
TAKEN TO REVOKE HIS PAROLE PRESENTLY SCHEDULED FOR REVOCATION ON  
NOVEMBER TWENTYSEVEN, NEXT. CLEAVER'S LAST DEPARTURE FROM BAY AREA  
WAS ON NOVEMBER SEVENTEEN, LAST, TO LOS ANGELES, CALIF., FROM WHERE  
HE HAS RETURNED.

ORIGINAL FILED IN 157-2614

END

MKA

FBI WASH DC

100-447251-  
NOT RECORDED  
183 NOV 28 1968

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b7C

17 NOV 26 1968

b6  
b7C

176  
CG 307 1235 910 1968



FBI

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Date:

11/5/68

Transmit the following in DATE: 12-07-2005 BY 60309 AUC

TAM/MLT/EHL

(Type in plaintext or code)

AIRTEL

Via

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (176-355)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
ANTI-RIOT LAWSReNYtel to Bureau dated, 10/11/68; Buairtel to  
New York, 10/14/68, under character "RACIAL MATTER-BLACK  
PANTHER PARTY".There are enclosed herewith 10 copies of LHM  
concerning subject's talk at Iona College, New Rochelle,  
NY, 10/11/68.It is to be noted that the source reported as being  
present was [redacted] The talk given by CLEAVER  
had been announced in the newspapers in the area and was open  
to the public. There were no restrictions on attendance and  
no admission charge.Arrangements had been made by Patrolman [redacted]  
[redacted] of the Yonkers, New York Police Department, and by  
the office of the District Attorney of Westchester County to  
tape the speech made by CLEAVER. A copy of this tape has  
been secured and is being transcribed. The transcription  
will be submitted to the Bureau when completed. The original  
tape will be maintained by Yonkers Police Department.It should be noted that in the attached LHM, several  
occasions where CLEAVER used vulgar or obscene language were  
either not reported or the language set out was of similar  
meaning, but without using the exact phraseology of CLEAVER.

C. C. Bishop

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 10)
- 2 - Chicago (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-161993) (BLACK PANTHER PARTY) (#43)
- 1 - New York (#43)

AGENCY: ACSI, NIO, OSI, SEC. SERV.

DEPT: ISD, CRD, RAO

JEG:1jm

HOW FORM:

DATE FORM

BY:

Per

Approved:

Special Agent in Charge

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b7Cb6  
b7Cb6  
b7C176-447-00  
ORIGINAL FILED IN

NY 176-355

Dissemination of attached LHM is being made locally to 108th MI Group, OSI, NISO, Secret Service and USAS SDNY and EDNY.

VIA TELETYPE

NOV 27 1968

ENCIPHERED

WA-----01-----

9-02PM PST DEFERRED 11-26-68 CRW

TO DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251) PLAINTEXT.

FROM SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520) /2P/

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. RM DASH BPP.

✓

Tolson	✓
DeLoach	✓
Mohr	✓
Bishop	✓
Casper	✓
Callahan	✓
Conrad	✓
Felt	✓
Gale	✓
Rosen	✓
Sullivan	✓
Tavel	✓
Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Holmes	✓
Gandy	✓

5/5

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b7C

PAGE 1

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE TO DEFEND ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. RM DASH BPP.

A SOURCE ADVISED THIS DATE THAT THE TWENTYFOUR HOUR VIGIL MAINTAINED BY CAPTIONED COMMITTEE AT TWO SEVEN SEVEN SEVEN PINE ST., IN SF CONTINUED THROUGH THE NIGHT AND EARLY MORNING HOURS OF NOVEMBER TWENTYFIVE DASH TWENTYSIX INSTANT. ELDRIDGE CLEAVER WAS NOT SEEN TO ENTER OR EXIT THE RESIDENCE AT THAT ADDRESS. KATHLEEN CLEAVER WAS SEEN DEPARTING RESIDENCE AT APPROXIMATELY ELEVEN PM, ACCOMPANIED BY SIX NEGRO MALES DRESSED IN BPP ATTIRE. SHE DID NOT RETURN. AS MANY AS TWENTYFIVE PICKETS GATHERED IN LATE AFTERNOON ON NOVEMBER TWENTYFIVE AND SIX STAYED THROUGH THE NIGHT. ALL PICKETS HAD HIPPIE APPEARANCE AND APPROXIMATELY HALF WERE NEGRO. A PRESS CONFERENCE WAS ANNOUNCED FOR TWO PM, NOVEMBER TWENTYSIX NEXT.

b6  
b7C

A SECOND SOURCE ADVISED THAT PICKETS AT TWO SEVEN SEVEN SEVEN PINE ST., SAN FRANCISCO AT NOON ON NOVEMBER TWENTYSIX INSTANT NUMBERED EIGHT. AN UNKNOWN NEGRO MALE HELD PRESS CONFERENCE AT TWO PM, IN

END OF PAGE ONE

TELETYPED TO:

FTB

23 DEC 6 1968

NOT RECORDED  
178 DEC 9 1968

58 DEC 26 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 04-06-2006 BY 60309 AUC  
EAM/REG/RLT

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PAGE TWO.  
SF 100 - 55520.

FRONT OF RESIDENCE AT TWO SEVEN SEVEN SEVEN PINE STREET, READING FROM A PREPARED STATEMENT IN BEHALF OF CAPTIONED COMMITTEE. THE STATEMENT CALLED FOR ALL TO JOIN IN DEMANDING THE CONTINUATION OF PAROLE FOR ELDRIDGE CLEAVER AND AN END TO HARASSMENT BY THE AUTHORITIES. KATHLEEN CLEAVER APPEARED APPROXIMATELY FIFTEEN MINUTES AFTER THE PRESS CONFERENCE AND IN ANSWER TO INQUIRIES STATED SHE HAD NOT SEEN CLEAVER AND DID NOT KNOW HIS PRESENT WHEREABOUTS.

A THIRD SOURCE ADVISED CLEAVER DID NOT APPEAR AT U. C. BERKELEY FOR HIS REGULAR TUESDAY LECTURE AND A SMALL GOING AWAY GATHERING HELD FOR HIM.

SAN FRANCISCO POLICE DEPARTMENT, OAKLAND POLICE DEPT., AND CALIFORNIA DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS AUTHORITIES HAVE NOT SEEN OR HEARD FROM CLEAVER FOR SEVERAL DAYS.

ADMINISTRATIVE:

SOURCES UTILIZED ARE [REDACTED]

AND [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] SF WILL KEEP BUREAU ADVISED.

END.

RM FBI WASH DC

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CC AM-IDIU*

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REC'D - CIVIL RIGHTS

MR [REDACTED]  
ROOM 836.9&0

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DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

11/19/68

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (145-NEW) C

0  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER;  
RADIO STATION KZSU,  
Stanford University  
Palo Alto, California  
BROADCASTING OBSCENE LANGUAGE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-07-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

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b7C

On 11/14/68 [redacted]

[redacted] provided the  
following information:

On 10/1/68, LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, Black Panther Party and Peace and Freedom presidential candidate, delivered a speech at Stanford University which speech contained obscenities. This speech was simultaneously or subsequently broadcast over the air uncensored by subject radio station. It is not known if this broadcast was made with the knowledge of CLEAVER.

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b7C

SA [redacted] had obtained a tape recording of CLEAVER's speech as broadcast over station KZSU from a panel source of his. This tape was copied and returned to the source. The copy will be forwarded to FCC, San Francisco in view of opinion of USA's Office declining prosecution. On 11/19/68, the facts of this case were discussed with AUSA DAVID BANCROFT at San Francisco.

BANCROFT declined prosecution in this case for the following reason:

4 - Bureau  
(2 - 145-NEW)  
(2 - 100447251)  
2 - San Francisco  
(1 - 145-664)  
(1 - 100-55520)

KQB:sag  
(6)

100 447251-  
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183 NOV 25 1968

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ORIGINAL FILED IN

SF 145-664

KQB:sag

Even in the event that intent would be established on behalf of CLEAVER and KZSU, this would not be a proper case for criminal prosecution. The speech lasted for approximately one hour and ten minutes. The dominant theme of the speech was political in nature and was CLEAVER's opinions on social problems and revolution. He stated that the words used by CLEAVER were definitely prosecutable but that the matter could best be handled administratively by the FCC.

It was his opinion that the intent of the statute was to prohibit broadcasting of obscene language and was directed against persons who would present programs in which the dominant theme was intended to appeal to prurient interests.

By separate communication the FCC, San Francisco, was advised of the opinion of the USA's Office in this matter. In view of the declination by AUSA BANCROFT, no further investigation will be conducted in this matter unless advised to the contrary by the Bureau.



(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

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DATE 12-07-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
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Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	<i>DO</i>
Mr. Sullivan	<i>15</i>
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

## Supreme Court's dual action was unusual

Chief Justice William S. Richardson of the Hawaii Supreme Court said today the court's consideration and ruling yesterday on two cases on the same day was unusual and the first time in his memory it had occurred.

The cases were those of Daniel Cuevas, indicted for murder, and of Eldridge Cleaver, the presidential candidate. "Both of these cases had to be decided quickly," Richardson said.

Cuevas' 20th birthday was today, which meant if the court hadn't acted, the murder suspect would have been released.

"And the Cleaver case was an election matter and had to be decided immediately," Richardson said.

"We had a long day," he added.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

A-3  
STAR BULLETIN  
HONOLULU, HAWAII

Date: 11/2/68  
Edition: HOME  
Author:  
Editor: A.A. SMYSER  
Title: BLACK PANTHER  
PARTY

Character:

or

Classification: 157-136

Submitting Office: HN

☐ Being Investigated

58 DEC 12 1968

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DEC 3 1968

*file - 5-24*



## Too late to place Cleaver on ballot

The State Supreme Court ruled yesterday that the Peace and Freedom Party acted "too late" in trying to place the name of Eldridge Cleaver as its presidential candidate on the general election ballot.

The unanimous decision was made several hours after the court heard oral arguments on the petition to include Cleaver's name on the ballot.

Dennis R. Jones, a qualified presidential elector of the party, filed the petition with the court Wednesday.

He asked the court to order Lt. Gov. Thomas P. Gill to place Cleaver's name or, in the alternative, two other party candidates, on the ballot for Tuesday's presidential election.

GILL informed the party by letter Sept. 14 that Cleaver's name could not appear because he is 33 years of age and does not meet the specific requirements to be a presidential candidate.

He also told the party it could submit another name if an eligible candidate were found by early last month.

Nothing was done by the party until the petition was filed.

The Supreme Court said Jones "failed to show why he did not take any administrative means to remedy the situation, though a way had been left open by the Lieutenant Governor.

"Nor has he shown any reason for his delay in seeking relief from this court until this late date when we cannot enter an order which would be effective to govern the election.

"Therefore, we hold that in these circumstances the peti-

tion for relief comes too late and it is denied. . ."

DEPUTY ATTY. Gen. Morton King, who represented Gill, urged the court yesterday to dismiss the petition because Jones has no legal standing.

# ELDRIDGE PADS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-07-2005 BY 60309 AUC

From 11/68 issue  
of "Motive" pub-  
lished for the  
University Christian  
Movement by the  
Division of Higher  
Education of The  
Methodist Church.

The following interview with Eldridge Cleaver is an edited  
version of a transcript from the nationwide radio talk show  
"Night Call," originating in New York City and moderated by  
Del Shields. The questions are by persons from all across the  
U.S. who were hooked into the program by an open tele-  
phone line. Cleaver, Minister of Defense for the Black Panther  
Party, answered questions from his home base in Oakland,  
California. The talk fest is produced by the United Methodist  
Church's Division of Television, Radio and Film Communication  
(TRAFCO).

ETCHING: I AM A MAN

BETTY LA DUKE



QUESTION: Just who and what are the Black Panthers?

CLEAVER: The Black Panther Party is a political party  
that originated in Oakland, California, and was started  
by Huey P. Newton who is the minister of defense of  
the party, and our chairman, Bobby Seale. The party seeks  
to organize black people so they can move and take  
control of the life, the politics, and the destiny of the  
black community.

What really makes the Black Panther Party stand out  
from other groups that have originated in that com-  
munity is the fact that we feel it is necessary to use guns  
in a defensive manner against aggression, particularly by  
the Police Department, vigilante groups, etc. Because we  
have used these guns for our defense, this is what most  
people have come to associate with the Black Panther  
Party. But this is only one point on our platform. We  
have a ten-point platform that outlines the basic griev-  
ances and the basic desires and needs of black people  
as we see them, and we seek to organize the people in  
the black community who have never been organized  
before, such as the so-called lower class black people  
who are not candidates for membership in the National  
Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

56 DEC 12 1968

NOVEMBER 1968

QUESTION: Since you have written *Soul on Ice*, and the  
book has been widely hailed in this country, how do you  
resolve your relationship now as minister of information  
for the Black Panther Party and as a social critic?

CLEAVER: I think that the two work very handily to-  
gether. We're dealing with the same thing, you know.  
There's no conflict in my book between my politics. The  
book tries to pass on information, and my position in  
the party sort of passes on information. We're dealing  
with interpretations of what we're all involved in, and  
I see that they work out very well together. As a matter  
of fact, the book itself has helped considerably in getting  
a lot of the program and activity of the Panther Party  
across.

QUESTION: You mentioned earlier that the guns of the  
Black Panthers are to be used for defensive purposes.  
We've talked about America as being a violent country.  
Does not this defensive stand add to this violence?

CLEAVER: Any act of defense could be categorized as  
violence if there is any type of conflict involved, but I  
think that some violence or conflict is justified. For in-  
stance, I think a man who moves to protect himself  
from an attack, though he uses a violent means to dispel  
that attack, is completely justified in doing so. The right  
to self-defense has always been recognized in society,  
and simply because we have a very violent situation on  
our hands in this country doesn't mean that we have to  
forego this particular right.

QUESTION: What are your feelings about the new gun  
control law? Do you feel that this particular law is  
penalizing the blacks?

CLEAVER: Yes, I do, particularly here in our local area  
where we see these vicious politicians who are known  
to be open enemies of the black community. We see  
them out in the forefront of the forces calling for gun

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control. At the same time they're calling for gun control, they're escalating the armament and the preparation of the police department and supplying them with all kinds of new weapons; and we feel that this is aimed directly at the black community.

We live in a time when black people are becoming more and more impatient. The philosophy of nonviolence has been murdered along with its prophet Dr. Martin Luther King. The power structure of this country knows that the black liberation struggle is turning to violence as an alternative, so they're moving now to disarm people before anything happens. All of this ballyhoo about gun legislation, we feel, is aimed at disarming the black liberation struggle and the allies of that struggle in the white community.

**QUESTION:** Would you define the defensive program of the Black Panthers in terms of guns? Do you promote vigilante groups?

**CLEAVER:** No, we don't promote vigilante groups, and we don't approve of them. We feel that the primary problem confronting the black people today is the problem of being organized. The chief impediment to organization of the black community comes from the activities of the police department. The police department functions like an occupied army in the black community, and it intimidates black people. It disturbs meetings, prevents black people from having peaceful assemblies, and the very presence of the police, with the history they have with black people, makes them an undesirable element in our community. We seek to remove them from the community because they are constantly killing and terrorizing our people.

We feel that before much more progress can be made, this particular problem has to be dealt with. So we call for the immediate withdrawal of the white racist policemen from our community, and we call for enactment of the principle that those who police our community must live in our community. We want the community to control the policemen who police our communities. We feel that it's a form of community imperialism to have a police force occupying our community that is controlled by the white suburbs. This is an obnoxious situation, and we want it to end.

**QUESTION:** Have the police department and the Black Panthers ever sat down at the same table and attempted to negotiate any of the problems?

**CLEAVER:** There have been very minimal direct contacts, such as when we've staged benefits and rallies at auditoriums where security has to be discussed; but they prefer to do that behind closed doors. They want to meet with us behind closed doors as they've done with a

One of the main problems that we have today is their coming into the communities and putting different groups of black people on these poverty programs

CHARCOAL DRAWING

DON CORTESE

and buying them out if they agree to perform in a certain manner. We've been approached by some of the flunkies of the power structure to see if we would be willing to accept some of their Uncle Tom money, but publicly they try to pretend that the last thing they would do would be to condescend to talk with the Black Panthers. This creates a situation exposing them to a lot of people who feel that public officials and public servants should be open to all elements of the public, and they have an image of being very opposed to everything in the black community, particularly the militants who speak out.

**QUESTION:** In a recent issue of *Ramparts* (June 29, 1968), the article about the Black Panthers (*The Persecution and Assassination of the Black Panthers as Performed by the Oakland Police under the Direction of Chief Charles R. Gain, Mayor John Reading, et al.*) ends with the sentence: "And the chances are, too, that the cops necessary kill, every Panther in Oakland." Mr. Cleaver, what is going to be done to stop police brutality and killing?

**CLEAVER:** I think that if the people who are standing on the sidelines don't move to harness the police departments of this country (not just in Oakland, because this is something that's going on all over this country), there can be no alternative to the black community having to wage a defensive war against the police. I think this is a very likely possibility.

I know that people are psychologically and materially prepared to do this because it's becoming a matter of life and death. For instance, Bobby Hutton was murdered in Oakland on April 6. Here in a big area there have been about four other shootings and killings of young black men by police and so the last straw has already been placed on the camel's back. Unless these police departments are brought down to a level where they are acceptable to a community, there can be nothing but a reply to them, in time; and it seems that that's the way it's going to be.

**QUESTION:** Tell me a little about the Peace and Freedom Party with which the Black Panther Party is working.

**CLEAVER:** The Peace and Freedom Party is composed primarily of white people who were disgusted by the two party system — the so-called Republican and Democratic parties. They've broken away from those two parties, and the type of corrupt policies that they've been practicing since they've come into existence, and formed a new third party that seeks to align itself with the legitimate aspirations of the black community and with the anti-war movement in this country. It seems to chart a new direction in national politics.

We felt that this was a positive sign coming out of the white community and we saw no reason not to work with them, because we share some of the same goals and attitudes.

**QUESTION:** Who do you think black people should support for president?

**CLEAVER:** I think you should support me for president. I am running against Dick Gregory on the Peace and Freedom Party ticket. Gregory, Dr. Benjamin Spock and Mrs. Coretta King have been proposed as possible nominees. I think I have it sewed up.

**QUESTION:** Do you think you'll get rid of Reagan in California?

**CLEAVER:** If we can't get rid of Reagan, we can't survive. Our survival depends upon getting rid of racist politicians like him.

**QUESTION:** Why did Dick Gregory call off the boycott of the Democratic National Convention in Chicago?

**CLEAVER:** Richard Gregory issued a public statement regarding that decision. He didn't want to be involved in any provocative situation that might lead to violence be-

cause a few things had happened about that time. I don't know if it was an uprising, or a shooting, or some event with overtones of violence. This was during the time when the racist pig Mayor Richard Daley of Chicago, issued the order to shoot to kill. The people who were thought to be looting. Dick Gregory said he would cooperate in that effort; he didn't want to have anything to do with any trouble or uprising. This is a good example of the wishy-washy way Dick has always moved in those matters. This is one of the reasons I oppose his nomination for the Peace and Freedom Party. I wouldn't want to see his politics institutionalized.

**QUESTION:** Do you have any particular message for the black college students as to what they could do to help benefit the whole of Black America?

**CLEAVER:** I say to black students and potential students that they should return with their hearts and their minds and their souls to the black community to relate to the brothers and sisters who have not had the opportunity that they've had. They should use their intelligence and their skills to help organize the black community for its survival. We are faced now with the prospects of oppression on an international level by a very racist and inhuman power structure which, as it winds up the war in Vietnam, turns to a second war, which is the war against black people right here in Babylon. I say to college students and to all people who want to see a new world and a better world that they should unite to form the type of power block that can defeat this racist power structure and put it in the garbage can of history where it belongs.

**QUESTION:** Don't you believe that Ghandi did a great deal more with nonviolence?

**CLEAVER:** It may be. To a great extent he liberated his country with the use of nonviolence, but he was dealing with people other than the racist yankees that we must confront here. He was dealing with a minority of occupying forces. We're dealing with the majority of a very complacent people who surround us, who have us dispersed throughout their population, who have a tradition of murdering and treating us in a very brutal and violent fashion, and who don't seem to be able to recognize the fact that black people have suffered beyond any more tolerance of a continuation of these conditions.

To those who urge us to use adoptions from other lands, adoptions that in effect leave us merciless before very vicious enemies, we would say to them to take their nonviolence and go preach it to the racist President of this country. Teach nonviolence to LBJ. Teach nonviolence to Chief Charles Gain, the number one pig in the Oakland Police Department. Teach nonviolence to the racist policemen all over this country who are murdering the children of black people. Don't come to the black community and teach the victims of this violence to be nonviolent; teach the perpetrators of violence to be non-violent and then we can talk about it.

**QUESTION:** What would you recommend that the typical whites do to help you?

**CLEAVER:** I think any white person who is interested in the welfare of mankind should take a good look at what's going on in this country. This is what's really happening. The white students of this country have already taken a look at what's going on, and they don't like it. So I say that they should organize themselves into machinery that will be capable of dealing with the revolution from what we call the white mother country.

We feel that we have black people here who are colonized by the white people. We refer to that as the relationship between the black colony and the white mother country. We feel that we need to wage a national liberation struggle in the black colony and a revolution in the white mother country. Young white people who are interested in doing this should organize themselves in a fashion to deal with the politics and the economics and the social practices in this country and should be prepared to work with those elements in the black community who understand this process, and who are willing to work with them. We think that with this type of coalition, we will have the strength to bring about the revolutionary changes that this country must have if there's going to be a future for our America or for mankind.

**QUESTION:** You talk about revolutionary changes. Let's see if your argument makes any sense. First of all, you've got to consider, if you talk about violence, what percentage of population is Negro in the United States, and you've got to recognize that you are outnumbered by about 10 to 1. You've also got to consider how many resources in the United States are Negro-controlled. How many factories, how many food-production arteries do you control? Do you own the trucking companies to get your men and machines from place-to-place, when the revolution takes place? How many airlines and how many communication systems are black controlled? You're asking black people to organize and be willing to die for the country?

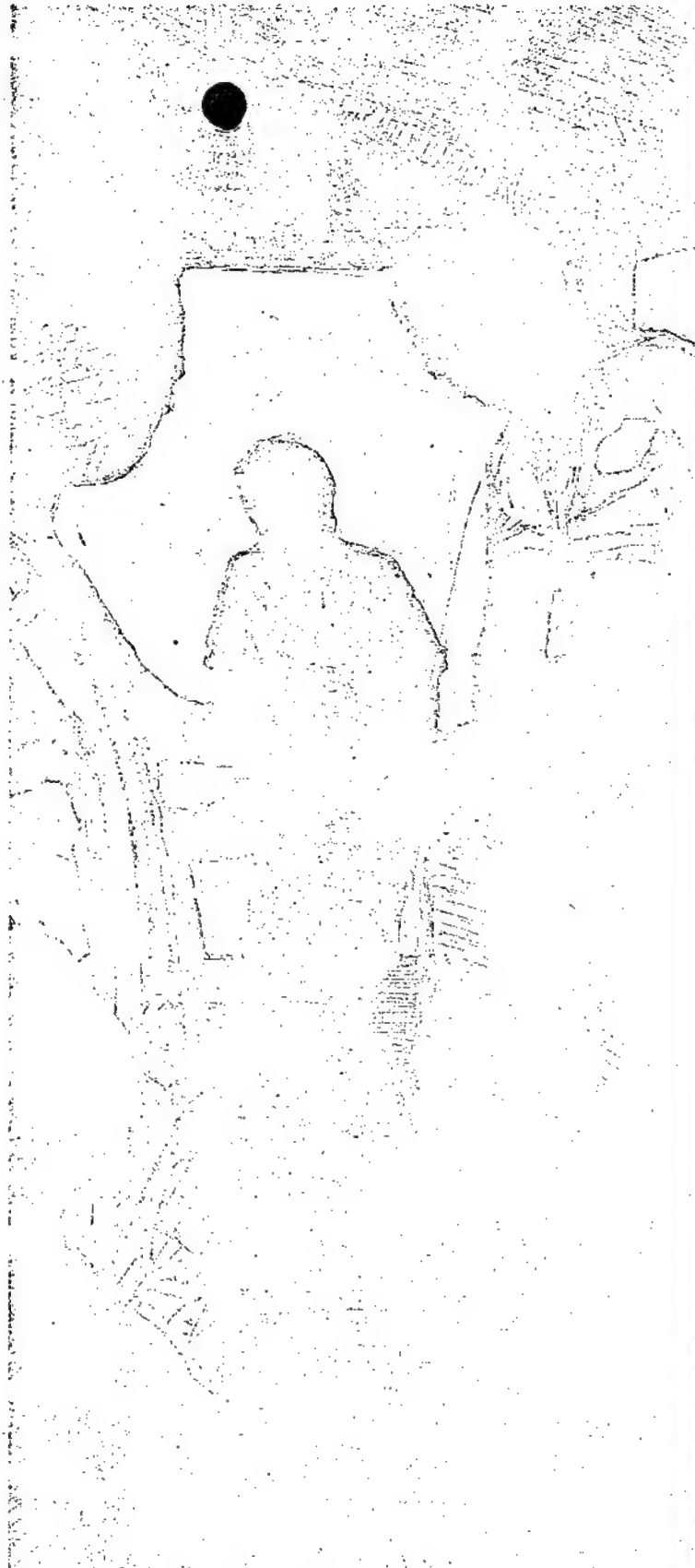
**CLEAVER:** I also said kill, didn't I?

**QUESTION:** Kill and die. Well, that's a tremendous responsibility — you're asking them to kill and die.

**CLEAVER:** Let me ask you a question. Are you a white man or a black man?

**QUESTION:** I'm a white man, sir.

**CLEAVER:** I thought so. Let me tell you this. You can count off your statistics about everything that you control. And if you had it sewed up tight, then you shouldn't be afraid. But we know that with all of your numbers and with all of your materials and superiorities, with all these



ETCHING

things that you have going for you, you're in big trouble all over the planet earth. You dig it? We know that, and we know that you're not confined to the geographical boundaries of the United States or the North American continent. We see this as

ions, and millions, and millions of mad black, brown, red, and yellow people to deal with. And you know that.

We don't care about your atomic bombs. We don't care about your guns, your guns and how many guns

we would do the same thing that the Viet Cong is doing in Vietnam. We will lay and wait, and we will take your guns from you, and we will use your guns against you. Your plants and your factories are right here in our neighborhood. You put them there because you didn't want them in your own neighborhood, because they give out their smoke and those foul smells. These resources are here and we will move against them and disrupt the economy of this country and force you to destroy all of your liberties and all the beautiful things that you love.

In order to suppress the 20 million black people in this country, you are going to have to destroy this country, and we say that if we can't have freedom here, then let us be destroyed because you don't deserve it. If we can't be free, you don't deserve to even talk of freedom, and your numbers and all that. You're moving in a fog, and there ain't nobody digging it but you.

**QUESTION:** I'd just like to make one more point. You ask these people to kill and die because the white people in the United States are trying to suppress the black people. I don't think that's true. They may be trying to suppress you, but they're not trying to suppress black people. That's another thing.

What percentage of the Negro population of these millions of people that you are talking about are sympathetic to your cause?

**CLEAVER:** I think that they're all sympathetic.

**QUESTION:** It seems to me that before you can have people take other lives and be willing to give up theirs, you're going to have to at least come up with a logical, viable cause for which to die and kill.

**CLEAVER:** I think that we already have that cause.

**QUESTION:** How much of the so-called racial disorders is actually racial and how much of it, in your estimation, is economic?

**CLEAVER:** The philosophy of white supremacy (the whole concept of all non-white people being inferior to and servants of white people) is something that developed after whites came out of Europe and began to travel around the world and to find all these people who didn't have the weapons that they had and who they were able to . . .

**QUESTION:** They have technological superiority . . .

**CLEAVER:** They had a type of unethical savagery. For instance, when the white man came to America and encountered the Indian, the red man tried to help him to survive. You know, they teach you that in school. The

BRENT MATZEN

a world-wide contest, and in this world-wide contest, you are in very much of a minority, and we are with the majority. So you don't just have 20 million black people to deal with, you have 700 million Chinese, 300 million Africans, and unnumbered billions, and millions and mil-



settlers were starving and the red men helped them. Well, it was just a difference in the type of background from which the people came: backgrounds that enabled the whites to prey on their fellow man.

It's very important that people understand that there is a distinction between the economics of the situation and the racism of the situation. Historically, we could say that economics was primary and that the racist philosophy that was developed later on was done to justify the whole process of exploitation of the non-white people. As the Europeans began to colonize them in Asia and Africa, Latin America, and so forth, they developed this philosophy to justify what they were doing to these people, only after they started doing it. Now, everything about this country has been permeated by this philosophy in order to justify it. When people encounter this, they encounter a mixture of economic exploitation and racism. Economics and racism go hand-in-hand. People who confront this situation daily, and who haven't had time to do elaborate studies of the situation, don't have time to distinguish between the economics and the racism.

**QUESTION:** Mr. Cleaver, if you're so unhappy with America, or if this nation is so unsatisfactory, why don't you go back to Africa?

**CLEAVER:** I think that after we send you back to Europe, we might go back to Africa.

**QUESTION:** The crime rate amongst the Negro is the highest as far as the United States is concerned, and I say that the black people are committing genocide against the white people.

**CLEAVER:** You can say that, if you want to. But I say that the crime rate, or what you call the crime rate, is not nearly high enough. Black people are put into a position where they either have to go out and beg you white people for things to survive, or they have to go out and take it. So I say if they're not able to get it in any other way, that they should push the crime rate to high heavens and just take it all — everything you've got. You don't deserve it, because you have an anti-human attitude towards other people.

**QUESTION:** I say, sir, that if anyone wants to work they can work.

**CLEAVER:** Do you know there are millions and millions of people in this country who want to work and who can't find jobs?

**QUESTION:** There are plenty of jobs available.

**CLEAVER:** Well, why don't you go out to one of the standing in those lines that there are plenty of jobs available? Why don't you do that?

**QUESTION:** Well, the jobs are available, but they cannot guarantee help. And I think your violence polarizes the situation. You're not bringing the white people and black people together.

**CLEAVER:** We want to bring people together who have their heads together. It wouldn't be any good to bring people together who have their heads so untogether, you know.

**QUESTION:** Mr. Cleaver, does the Black Panther Party accept or welcome the help of white people?

**CLEAVER:** Yes, we work with white people all the time. We have good relations with a lot of white people. We have a coalition with the Peace and Freedom Party which, as I said earlier, is composed of white people. We work with different groups on the campuses, and with white people who have had a chance to see us in action and who know what we're involved in and what our aims are.

This is distinguished from the racists in the power structure who want to keep people divided. They don't want to see white people and black people work together on anything that seriously contests the *status quo*. They're the ones who spread racism through their control of the mass media; they try to spread the idea that the Black Panther Party is some type of irresponsible gang of hoodlums, whose only ambition is to go out and kill and murder and invade the suburbs and all that magic. But the white people here in this area work with us, and we do a very good job, and there's no problem in that area.

Our problem comes from the racists who fear the development on a national scale of a working coalition between black people and white people who want to move to change this country. This is what they fear and this is why they move to suppress all tendencies and all manifestations of political expression that are moving in that direction. Any white person with any sense who wants to do something to bring about a better world has never had a hard time talking to black people or relating to black people because black people have been so down on hatred, they have been so much the victims of racism and racial hatred that it's almost impossible for a black person to really become a racist as white people are. This is not one of our problems.

**QUESTION:** Is it possible then that the white and black can live together?

**CLEAVER:** If you're speaking in ultimate terms as to whether it will be ultimately possible for white people to live side-by-side with black people, the answer is yes. Black people are willing to live side-by-side with other people. But the question is this, how are



we to move and survive against a hostile population that on the one hand sends in a few of its numbers to talk nonviolence to us, to talk brotherhood to us, and to talk about living together, while on the other hand the very working and functioning of this system is daily grinding black people down and keeping them down? While other people's standard of living is going up, ours is falling or standing still. It's very difficult for us to be concerned about brotherhood when we see the operation of this country destroying us.

**QUESTION:** What do you mean when you talk about black? Is this a descendant from Africa, or is it a Negro, or is it everyone who is non-white?

**CLEAVER:** You know the saying: if you have one drop of black blood in you, you're not white. You know how white people run around saying that. Well, they were classifying the various people as not belonging to their superior group. But we have people in our group who run from those who can pass for white, you know, like Adam Clayton Powell, who could very well be a white man, or from Senator Brooks on down to brothers and sisters who are pure black and who have never had their blood lines corrupted. We all are the descendants of the people who were brought here from the motherland and fatherland of Africa.

**QUESTION:** Would you include someone like a Mexican-American or an Indian as black? You say black is a descendant from Africa.

**CLEAVER:** Yes, we do include that as a descendant of Africa because Africa is the home of the black man. The Mexican people refer to themselves as brown people, and I've heard Indian people refer to themselves as the red man.

**QUESTION:** You use the simile, then, about your brothers in China. Yet, they're not black.

**CLEAVER:** I didn't say my black brothers in China; I said my brothers in China. They're my yellow brothers if you want me to be specific.

**QUESTION:** If the Black Panther Party was to decide to forego the idea of defensive measures, do you think there would be more acceptance of the party?

**CLEAVER:** Yes, I think that a lot of people would see that as a good sign, but I think there actually would be a very great disservice to mankind, for if we abandoned our position of calling for a cessation of the brutality and terror of black people, then we would, in effect, be endorsing evil. And we say that it is the duty of people to stand up and to impeccably oppose all manifestations of inhuman behavior.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 05-01-2006 BY 60300 AUC  
TAM/DCG/EHL

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. DeLoach	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Bishop	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	
Mr. Felt	
Mr. Gale	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

TO : Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation

DATE: November

J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General  
Internal Security Division

SUBJECT:

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Racial Matters - Black Panther Party

Leroy Eldridge Cleaver  
Racial Matters - Black Panther Party

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We also refer to your memoranda of September 9 and October 21, 1968 regarding speeches made by Leroy Eldridge Cleaver.

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Although they were delivered in a different context, the same conclusion is applicable to the speeches which have been given by Leroy Eldridge Cleaver.

We note from the investigative reports that the Black Panther Party and its officers seem to be advocating a Negro revolt and are nationalizing their movement. However, mere inflammatory statements of officers of an organization are insufficient to support a prosecution. Such individual speeches usually fall within the protection of the First Amendment to the Constitution and are not actionable in and of themselves unless they constitute a "clear and present danger of attempting or accomplishing the prohibited crime . . .". In each case it must be proven that the "gravity of the 'evil', discounted by its

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17 NOV 20 1968

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61 DEC 17 1968

105-163706-702

ORIGINAL FILED IN

improbability, justifies such invasion of free speech as is necessary to avoid the danger". What is needed to meet this test is evidence to establish "The formation . . . of . . . a highly organized conspiracy, with rigidly disciplined members subject to call when the leaders", . . . believe "that the time has come for action . . ." Dennis v. United States 341 U.S. 494

Notwithstanding our conclusion with regard to these speeches, it appears that the Black Panther Party and other militant Negro organizations, are engaging in activities which may fall within the ambit of the aforementioned sections. We are actively reviewing all investigative reports we receive with a view toward undertaking prosecution whenever sufficient evidence exists to establish a conspiracy to violate these statutes. To this end, we will be writing additional memoranda requesting further investigation.

In the meantime, we request that the current investigation be continued with an emphasis on developing witnesses who could testify as to the following factors:

- (1) The specific program of the Black Panther Party and the specific officers who advocate such policies.
- (2) Specific acts based on policies or programs promulgated by the party and directed against the overthrow of the Federal Government or any local governmental unit or to oppose the laws or authority of the Federal Government.
- (3) Witnesses who can testify as to what they have been taught regarding the program and the individuals who gave the instructions.
- (4) Additional documentary evidence in the form of letters, pamphlets, or flyers which could be traced directly to the party and which urge its revolutionary doctrines.
- (5) Evidence to establish a cohesion or unity between the national Black Panther Party and the various local units.

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VIA TELETYPE

DEC 3 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

WASHINGTON---11---

8:28 PM 12-3-68 DEFERRED MXG PLAINTEXT

TO: DIRECTOR (100-447251)

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

LEROEY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER; RM- BPP; POSSIBLE UFAC.

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[REDACTED] SPECIAL SERVICES DIVISION, CALIFORNIA DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS, AGENCY PRIMARILY RESPONSIBLE FOR SUBJECT'S RETURN TO PRISON, ADVISED DECEMBER THREE THAT THIS AGENCY HAS SUBPOENAED

~~ED~~

SUBJECT'S BANK ACCOUNT RECORDS AND TOLL CALLS LISTED TO TELEPHONE AT LAST KNOWN RESIDENCE FROM WHICH COMPILATION OF LOGICAL LEADS WILL BE MADE. HEADVISED NORMAL ACTION TAKEN BY THIS AGENCY TO EFFECT PAROLE VIOLATOR'S ARREST INCLUDES SEARCH OF LAST KNOWN RESIDENCE, ROUTINE LETTER ALL RELATIVES AND CLOSE ASSOCIATES ADVISING OF FACT HE IS FUGITIVE AND INFORMATION AS TO PRESENT WHEREABOUTS DESIRED, AND COVERAGE ANY LOGICAL LEADS DEVELOPED BY AGENCY. HE ADVISED, HOWEVER, THAT DUE TO LIMITED MANPOWER OF THIS AGENCY AND SUBJECT'S CONNECTION WITH EXTREMELY MILITANT BLACK PANTHER PARTY, COVERAGE OF LOGICAL LEADS DEVELOPED IN THIS SUBJECT'S CASE WILL NECESSARILY REQUIRE ASSISTANCE FROM LOCAL POLICE AGENCIES.

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[REDACTED] ADVISED SUBJECT'S LAST KNOWN RESIDENCE HAS NOT BEEN SEARCHED TO DATE AND ROUTINE LETTER MENTIONED ABOVE HAS NOT BEEN PREPARED. HE EXPECTS TO ACCOMPLISH THIS ABOUT DECEMBER FIVE, NEXT.

END PAGE ONE

TELETYPE TO:

25 DEC 6 1968

59 DEC 12 1968

Called to  
AC Hayden  
12/10/68

Trans. Div.

92530  
12/14/68

5-80

PAGE TWO

SF (100-55520)

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[REDACTED] FUGITIVE DIVISION, SAN FRANCISCO PD,  
ADVISED DECEMBER THREE, SUBJECT'S CASE WILL BE HANDLED AS ROUTINE  
FUGITIVE MATTER BY PD'S FUGITIVE DETAIL. NO ACTIVE INVESTIGATION  
WILL BE CONDUCTED TO APPREHEND, HOWEVER, SHOULD INFORMATION COME  
TO PD AS TO POSSIBLE WHEREABOUTS OF SUBJECT OR SHOULD POLICE  
OFFICERS ENCOUNTER SUBJECT ON NORMAL COURSE OF DUTIES, ARREST WOULD  
BE EFFECTED.

DAILY CONTACT BEING MAINTAINED BY SAN FRANCISCO OFFICE WITH USA  
CECIL POOLE CONCERNING USA'S OPINION ON AUTHORIZING UNLAWFUL FLIGHT  
AVOID CONFINEMENT COMPLAINT. POOLE ADVISED THIS DATE THAT NO CON-  
CRETE INFORMATION HAS COME TO HIS ATTENTION FROM WHICH HE COULD  
MAKE REASONABLE INFERENCE THAT SUBJECT HAS LEFT STATE OF CALIFORNIA  
AND, THEREFORE, HE IS NOT INCLINED TO AUTHORIZE UFAC COMPLAINT  
AT THIS TIME.

FOR INFORMATION OF BUREAU, SUBJECT <sup>SC</sup> SCHEDULED TO APPEAR IN COURT,  
OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA, DECEMBER TWENTY-THREE, NEXT, FOR HEARING ON  
CHARGES OF ASSAULT WITH DEADLY WEAPON RESULTING FROM APRIL, SIXTY-  
EIGHT SHOOTOUT WITH OAKLAND

ND POLICE. SUBJECT PRESENTLY ON FIFTY  
THOUSAND DOLLARS BAIL ON THIS CHARGE. BAIL REPORTEDLY PROVIDED BY

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AND [REDACTED]

SAN FRANCISCO WILL FOLLOW CLOSELY AND BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

END  
WA.....JDR  
FBI WASH DC

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b7C

3rd cc-Mr  
CC: MR. GALE



NA - 11/30/68

VIA TELETYPE

NOV 29 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

WA -----01-----

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC

TAM/MLT/EHL

1157PM PST DEFERRED 11-29-68 WEH  
TO DIRECTOR AND NEW YORK NEW YORK VIA WASH. ENCODE  
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520) /2P/

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. RACIAL MATTERS - BPP.

REMYTEL NOVEMBER TWENTYSEVEN LAST.

POSSIBILITY EXISTS UFAC PROCESS WILL BE OBTAINED IN NEAR FUTURE  
ON SUBJECT.

RECORDS UNITED CALIFORNIA BANK, HAIGHT AND BELVEDERE STREETS,  
SAN FRANCISCO, REFLECT A TELEGRAPH TRANSFER OF THIRTYFOUR THOUSAND,  
TWO HUNDRED DOLLARS RECEIVED NOVEMBER TWENTYTWO LAST FOR DEPOSIT TO THE  
ACCOUNT OF ELDRIDGE AND/OR KATHLEEN CLEAVER FROM CHASE-MANHATTAN BANK,  
NEW YORK. SHE IS WIFE OF SUBJECT.

END OF PAGE ONE.

TELETYPE TO:

61 DEC 13 1968

REC 11

EX-11

10 DEC 4 1968

100-447251

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b7C

PAGE TWO.

SF 100-55520.

b6  
b7C

NEW YORK REQUESTED TO PLACE WHATEVER STOPS POSSIBLE TO BE INFORMED  
OF MONEY WHICH MAY BE DIRECTED TO SUBJECT OTHER THAN THROUGH UCB, SAN  
FRANCISCO.

LOCAL STOPS BEING PLACED ON ACCOUNTS AT UNITED CALIFORNIA  
BANK.

CORRECTIONS....

~~PAGE ONE, LINE 11, AND END OF LINE 10, SHOULD READ...~~

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b7C

SSSSS

~~NEW YORK RELAYED THROUGH WASHINGTON.~~

END  
HFL

FBI WASH DC

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b7C

MR.   
ROOM 836 9&D



P

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATION SECTION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED DEC2 1968

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AU TELETYPE

TAM/MLT/EHL

FBI WASH DC

FBI SAN FRAN

7:45PM PST 12/2/68 DEFERRED JEY

TO: DIRECTOR AND DENVER

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

RM - BPP

POSSIBLE UFAC

RE DENVER TEL CALL TO SF THIS DATE.

Mr. Tolson\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter\_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy\_\_\_\_\_

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INFORMATION RECEIVED BY DENVER OFFICE FROM P.D. SOURCE TO

EFFECT [REDACTED] IS

IN ERROR.

END

SLB

FBI WASH DC

REC 4

EX-100

ELABORATE

6 DEC 4 1968

DEC 5 10 13 AM 1968

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cc

CC: MR. GALE 54 DEC 1 21968

100-447251-160

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM : *RLF* SAC, EL PASO (100-6098) (RUC)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

DATE: DEC 6 1968

OO: SF

Re SF teletypes to the Director, 11/21 and 11/27/68.

Probationary Ghetto Informants in the El Paso area were contacted regarding the possibility of Black Panther Party (BPP) disturbances being planned to draw attention to the subject's re-arrest and return to prison. They were recontacted regarding the subject's apparent disappearance from the State of California. No pertinent information was developed regarding these matters.

- ② - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (100-55520) (RM)
- 1 - El Paso

DJR/mep  
(5)

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REC-59

18 DEC 9 1968

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DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
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DEC 13 1968

U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

RACIAL INT. SECT.

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DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

December 5, 1968

AA  
REC-19

100 - 447251 - 162

EX-114

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Dear



In reply to your letter of November 28th, Eldridge Cleaver is being sought by the California Department of Corrections for return to prison following revocation of his parole. That agency has requested the assistance of local California law enforcement authorities.

The FBI has jurisdiction under the Fugitive Felon Act to assist local authorities in effecting the apprehension of a convicted felon who has traveled in interstate or foreign commerce to avoid confinement if requested to do so. In Cleaver's case, our assistance has been requested, and the matter has been discussed with the United States Attorney in San Francisco who has declined to authorize the issuance of a Federal warrant since no information has been developed to indicate Cleaver has fled the State of California.

I trust the above will clarify for you why we are not conducting an investigation in this matter.

Sincerely yours,  
J. Edgar Hoover

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record of correspondent. Eldridge Cleaver is Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party and is the subject of a Racial Matters--Black Panther investigation. He was scheduled to return to prison 11-27-68 on a revocation of his parole and he failed to report on that date. Unlawful Flight to Avoid Confinement assistance has been requested by local authorities; however, the United States Attorney has not yet authorized the issuance of a Federal warrant since no information has been developed to indicate Cleaver has fled the State of California. Answer correlated with Domestic Intelligence and Special Investigative Divisions.

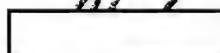
JBT:kce (3)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

61 DEC 17 1968

TELETYPE UNIT

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TAM/MLT/EHL

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[Redacted]

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November 28, 1968.

Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir,

I have read in the local news that the California Police are seeking Black Panther leader Eldridge Cleaver however the news item did not mention the F.B.I. Since Cleaver is a fugitive from justice which is a Federal crime I was wondering why the news item failed to mention any action by the F.B.I. in the capture of Cleaver? He is considered one of the most dangerous criminals in the United States by many police departments in California.

Sincerely,

[Redacted]

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REC-19

100-447251-162

16 DEC 9 1968  
EX-114

CORRESPONDENCE

ACK:

SBT/ace

12/1/68

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## "Soul on Ice"

The confessional narrative using either the essay form or the autobiographical technique as a magnification of "what's bothering the author" is apparently in vogue now on Publishers' Row. A career is begun, already fixed by powers already set up, with the result that talent is reduced to a commodity on the literary slave-auction block. The author is already a victim of the very thing he attacks. While hoping to effect an assertive catharsis against his own imprisonment and emasculation through becoming "literary," the very validity of his "hope" becomes just another chronicle in an extension of current emphasis toward some vague higher sensibilities of protest achieved by Afro-American writers today. It is not surprising that "downtrodden" Blacks can now cash in through the confessional without kneeling in a dusty cubicle.

In order to succeed in this American system, the Black writer (as expressionist) is in need of a catalyzing force, a "helping hand," which is already part of an acknowledged literary fraternity of long standing, and which invariably is white. In some bastions, this artistic interlocking of mutual interests was once upon a time (and not so long ago) stamped as "the Great White Father Complex," or better still a Black plea for patronage. A recall of such associations in this century brings to mind the following linked names: Paul Lawrence Dunbar and William Dean Howells; Jean Toomer and Waldo Frank; Langston Hughes and Vachel Lindsay and Carl Van Vechten -- all of whom epitomized this tendency of patronization. Their (the whites') enthusiasm in what was called the "Negro Renaissance" was indelibly persistent in the many sycophantic salons of Emily Hapgood, Mabel Dodge Luhan, Nancy Cunard, and, of course, "the uptown hostess," Madame A. J. Walker, who entertained everyone on what was then known as "Strivers Row." Black men of letters and neophytes fell under the downtown impression of "the Negro mystique." Alain Locke, James Weldon Johnson, B. DuBois

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were the driving men of letters in those years...as were Langston Hughes, Arna Bontemps, Countee Cullen, Claude MacKay, all published writers before the thirties. Others such as Wallace Thurman, Eric Waldron, Rudolph Fisher and others too numerous to name drop, had the credit card of being Black. The uptown world was much different from that of the downtown coterie, but nevertheless the white-author-writer could go anywhere. Theodore Dreiser, Sinclair Lewis, Sherwood Anderson, Heywood Brown, George Jean Nathan, H. L. Mencken, Dorothy Parker, e. e. cummings and Hart Crane cavorted in all quarters. Though not "patrons," they saw something in Black which they not only used but helped in one way or another to define...at least within their own respective crafts. Alain Locke gave illumination to the term "New Negro" as a reaffirmation of ethnocentricity. But came the "Great Crash" in 1929, and the bottom dropped out of everything. The N.R.A. along with the W.P.A. placed Black and white writers on a definable equality of purpose, and Black mentorship waned. Then came Richard Wright and the formation of the (not then conscious) Urban Protest tradition through his *Native Son* and other works ushered in by Ralph Ellison (*Invisible Man*), James Baldwin, John O. Killens, William Melvin Kelley, John Williams and countless others who were writing for different reasons, writing because, as Saunders Reddings once noted, "Negro writing is a literature of necessity." 100-447251-A

The delusions, devourings, and frustrations of Black writers emanate from poor criticism from the very beginning, a lack of real talent, current events and popular-culture-hysteria, lack of experience and real conviction, a belief that writing or being a writer is some sort of status symbol, ignorance of the publishing world, and lastly and most importantly, a lack of direction resulting from the absence of responsible persons to lean on when the going gets rough (and it usually is). But what was good yesterday for some is no longer viable today, as this new breed proposes challenge and change not only

in the social order of things but in the canons of the media itself. There is nothing avant-gard about being Black except to wear one's skin with a new pride in a reawakening. After this...so what? What have you said that others have not already thought and talked about? True, there may be a fresher way of stating some things, but this is not enough!

The trap that the Black writer falls into first comes out of an innocent need for literary attention. He gets none from his own kind, and thus he seeks it where he can. Why not? Anyone in their right mind would. Hence, after the Watts outbreaks came *From the Ashes: Voices of Watts* with Budd Schulberg and crew in what should be called an exploration with professional intention. With *Soul on Ice*, Maxwell Geismar comes to grips with Eldridge Cleaver as a progression in the confessional essay, which again should be considered in context as an outgrowth from its own slim (thus far) tradition. (*Manchild in the Promised Land* by Claude Brown, *Burn Killer Burn* by Paul Crump, *Down These Mean Streets* by Piri Thomas, *White Papers for White Americans* by Calvin Hernton, *My Face Is Black* by C. Eric Lincoln come quickly to mind as examples of this genre.)

*Ashes* and *Ice* present a curious irony of present circumstances as achievement. But if being in print with the endorsement of two well known and respected men of American letters is not enough, then this presents another case. What necessitates their respective involvement may be an altruistic humanism of sorts. But let this be clear in all quarters concerned: Riding shotgun on the Black covered wagon as a forever-gospel-train can be just as much a disservice as it may clearly be an honest concern. The reason being that in this age of ostensible enlightenment, quasi revolutions, exposure to varied media including the plethora of the paperback book, etc., there is simply no reason to perpetuate any activity which does not render the Black writer in this country a full amount of intellectual self-determination. In short, if these writers can not stand alone in print,

The Liberator  
Oct. 1968

54 DEC 9-1968

file-3-20



then they do not deserve to be printed. The value judgement afforded Cleaver in this case by Geismar is satisfying as an index of appeal, but is so very far off-base that it diminishes literary reason. Eldridge Cleaver's literary predecessors are distinctly at this point DeSade, Genet, Crump and possibly Chessman -- not because they all suffered under imprisonment but because they were unfulfilled as human beings under pressure and with some extraordinary sexual needs, ad infinitum. In Oscar Wilde's two years of confinement in Reading Gaol, he produced "De Profundis," perhaps the most extraordinary piece of literature yet written from confinement. But Cleaver is no Wilde, to be sure, though he is a good writer of his kind, from the frame of reference he has afforded himself.

Modern literature today consists of everything from graffiti to skywriting, which can be acceptable as long as deterrents, and a swift flow of cumulus clouds do not intervene. The former has been put into a book, and we still await a formula for a book on literary skywriting. The canons of language and semantics are obviously changing into all kinds of combustible time pills...of acute relevance. Cleaver is hip, Black, deprived, and searching. Societal convictions about drugs, sexual appetites and known "revolutions" are increasingly on his mind as his (nine-year-plus) imprisonment blows his balloon. Under reflection, with the use of prison libraries, Cleaver creates himself in an intellectual hunger.

The two important factors that we have to deal with in respect to Cleaver's appeal are fundamentally those of his search for identity and the resources at his disposal for self-enlightenment. Firstly, let us say that Cleaver's identity problem is no different from that of the average Black college student who has less time to probe, and that the student's conclusions would be no better or different than Cleaver's. Comparatively speaking, this material that Cleaver investigates and relinquishes is actually a rehash of ideas that he has been denied. No real sincere attention is given to his incarceration

or the reason why he is still in parole. All we are led to concern ourselves with is the glowing rancor which he feels and that he eulogizes about.

It is no secret that along with the more known book clubs there is a club called "Nigger of the Year Book Club." The new-culture-heroes of our time are now literary, and more power to them. The award for conspicuous gallantry in expression can only be awarded according to the exploitive demands of the publishing industry as it gives birth to sociological paralysis, a process carelessly endorsed by the writers themselves. Gone are the Maxwell Perkins and others who had a real concern for their writers' talents and lives. One day Cleaver will really rebel when he gets beyond the witness chair.

Cleaver has read a great deal and understands the corpus delicti of America, which in a way is his *Soul on Ice*, and the glaciated world about him. Fortunately his ability to absorb and synthesize the phenomena of what he has read and lived through with concern makes an enormous amount of sense... to the degree of his speculation. But really, what else is new? Things are tough all over. Does this purport to represent a new kind of leadership? Giving Cleaver an approximation to Fanon and saying that he is "one of the best cultural critics now writing" is a further distortion of the truth. Cleaver is eclectic to be sure, with a grasp for neo-colonialist undertakings. But his motivational insights are one or two steps away from the Gestalt treadmill of lay sociological insight.

Finally, I am concerned about Cleaver in spite of what I have shown as a comparative approximation of his work and his times in the sorrowful ache that is now history. Under the conditions which he wrote we can never dismiss this output as another texture of literary pain. Every word he has written I can honestly believe. The only legacy we can afford him is to quote William Blake in saying that "imitation is criticism." Eldridge Cleaver is not at fault -- it is his critics who require censure.

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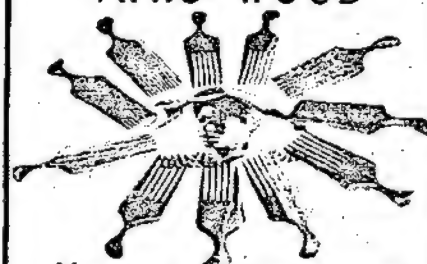
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TAM/MLT/EHL



(Mount Clipping in Space Below)

# Cleaver: Whites Offer Bomb Payoffs

Black Panther Eldridge Cleaver said today that white men have been "offering big money" to young black people to burn down white-owned buildings in the black community of San Francisco.

He said it was a political attempt "to feed this issue of law and order."

At the same time, Cleaver demanded an apology from Mayor Alioto for "insinuations" that the Black Panther Party was responsible for the bombing of the Richmond District Police Station and the sniping of San Francisco firemen Sunday.

The mayor promptly refused to apologize, said he had not blamed the Panthers for the bombing or sniping and challenged the "credibility" of Cleaver's report of white agent provocateurs working in the black community.

And Inspector Ben Lashkoff, acting chief of the police intelligence unit, said Cleaver's report was "garbage."

He said: "It's not so. We would have heard about it."

Cleaver, however, said he and Panther Chief of Staff David Hilliard had personally spoken to three of the whites Sunday after having been informed of the arson plot by young Negroes who had received offers.

Cleaver said the Panthers themselves were offered

"thousands" to take part but turned down the white men.

He said he "assumes" they were Republicans or associated with Republicans. They talked about our common enemies — the people now running our city," Cleaver said. "And our Mayor is a Democrat."

He said he didn't report the arson offer to police because, considering the relations between the Panthers and police, it would have been contradictory.

Asked why he didn't detain the three, Cleaver replied: "They may have been off-duty policemen."

He could give no precise description of the three but said he thought he could recognize them if he saw them again. He said they were dressed casually, in khaki clothing. "They looked like off-duty policemen," he said. "Healthy, like people who don't sit around smoking pot too much."

## BLACK SISTERS

Hilliard said the three were in their late 20's or 30's.

Hilliard also claimed that young Mexican Americans had been paid by whites to attack "black sisters" at a San Jose high school two weeks ago. He said seven Negro girls were stabbed there. He said he believed the same group of whites was responsible.

In demanding an apology from the mayor, Cleaver said: "We're not threatening Mayor Alioto. He's a bully and he's threatening us."

He said the mayor had given Police Chief Thomas Cah-

Mr. Tolson.....  
Mr. DeLoach.....  
Mr. Mohr.....  
Mr. Bishop.....  
Mr. Casper.....  
Mr. Callahan.....  
Mr. Conrad.....  
Mr. Felt.....  
Mr. Gale.....  
Mr. Rosen.....  
Mr. Sullivan.....  
Mr. Tavel.....  
Mr. Trotter.....  
Tele. Room.....  
Miss Holmes.....  
Miss Gandy.....

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

1 S.F. Examiner

San Francisco, Calif.

Date: 10-29-68

Edition: Final Home

Author:

Editor: Edmund J. Dooley

Title:

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

Character: RM-BPP

or SF 100-55520

Classification: 100

Submitting Office: SF

☐ Being Investigated

54 DEC 9 - 1968

100-447251-A  
NOT RECORDED  
167 DEC 6 1968

file - 5-015

all "a blank check" to deal with the Black Panthers.

Mayor Alioto yesterday linked the bombing of the Richmond District police station with others in Marin County, Oakland and Berkeley.

"The facts yield an inference that this was an organized effort," he said.

#### CITY TALKS

Alioto met with fire and police officials and heads of the firefighter's union.

They decided to ask the Board of Supervisors for \$25,000 to put armored tops on cabs of fire trucks and protective shields for tillermen on hook and ladder rigs.

They also will plan a system whereby police cars will rendezvous with fire trucks going into areas plagued by false alarms and attacks on firemen.

All police district station commanders were ordered to set up security measures at their stations.

Police, at the same time, intensified their search for burglars who stole a case of dynamite and electric caps last Wednesday as a possible link to the bombings.

#### \$10,000 DAMAGE

Half a dozen sticks of dynamite were detonated outside the Richmond police station at 459 Sixth Ave. Sunday. Damage to the station and neighboring buildings, including French Hospital, was set at \$10,000.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
 Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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 DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
 TAM/MLT/EHL

BERKELEY, Calif. — Unfazed by the failure of a general student strike at the University of California at Berkeley they tried to organize, a group of students is planning another class boycott. The rebellious students wanted to win reversal of a Board of Regents' ruling that academic credits would not be given for attendance at Black Panther Minister of Information Eldridge Cleaver's lecture course on racism in the United States.

b6  
 b7C

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 #291742~~

The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_  
 Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
 The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Daily World *Py. 2* \_\_\_\_\_  
 The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
 The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
 People's World \_\_\_\_\_  
 Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

Date 10/29/68

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Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
 Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
 Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
 Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

## Berkeley students demand Cleaver lecture series

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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 TAM/MLT/EHL

BERKELEY, Sept. 24 — Over 2,000 University of California students at a packed meeting here tonight unanimously voted to demand that Eldridge Cleaver be allowed to teach a full series of classes this fall. The meeting was called in response to a Sept. 20 decision by the university's board of regents limiting Cleaver to one class.

The issue, which raises the same basic questions as the 1964 Free Speech Movement, arose when the university invited Eldridge Cleaver to give a 10-lecture series in a sociology course on "Dehumanization and Regeneration in the American Social Order."

The state senate passed a resolution sponsored by the Birchites to censure the university. Reagan demanded that the university regents terminate Cleaver's appointment before classes start. The regents responded with the Sept. 20 decision limiting Cleaver to one appearance.

The meeting tonight was called by the Associated Student Body, the university's student government.



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The Washington Post \_\_\_\_\_  
 Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Washington Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Evening Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Sunday Star (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Daily News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sunday News (New York) \_\_\_\_\_  
 New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
 The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Sun (Baltimore) \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Daily World \_\_\_\_\_  
 The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
 The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
 The National Observer \_\_\_\_\_  
 People's World \_\_\_\_\_

Examiner (Washington) \_\_\_\_\_

*The Militant* Pg. 12

Date 10/4/68

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54 DEC 9 - 1968

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DATE: 05-01-2006

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DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1)

Classification per OGA letter  
dated 04-11-2006

FBI WASH DC

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATION SECTION

DEC 7 1968

TELETYPE

CLASSIFIED AND  
EXTENDED BY...  
REASON FOR EXTENSION  
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW FOR  
DECLASSIFICATION

**CONFIDENTIAL**

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP(S)

DATE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

5-18-78  
12-7-84  
5-17-79

FBI SAN FRAN

12:35AM URGENT 12-7-68 GWS

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

*RACIAL MATTER*

UNLAW FLIGHT TO AVOID CONFINEMENT

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. RM. - POSSIBLE UFAC.

REFERENCE BUREAU TEL TO SAN FRANCISCO, TWELVE SIX SIXTY-EIGHT.

FOLLOWING ACTION HAS BEEN TAKEN BY SAN FRANCISCO IN EFFORTS  
TO LOCATE AND APPREHEND SUBJECT.

ALL OFFICES HAVING *BLACK PANTHER PARTY* CHAPTERS WITHIN THEIR DIVISION WERE

ALERTED AS TO SUBJECTS FUGITIVE STATUS AND REQUESTED TO REMAIN  
ALERT FOR ANY INFORMATION AS TO WHEREABOUTS.

IN VIEW OF RUMORS SUBJECT

[REDACTED] SAN FRANCISCO ALERTED SEATTLE AND REQUESTED  
BUREAU TO ALERT [REDACTED] (U)

REGARDING POSSIBILITY OF TRAVEL BY SUBJECT [REDACTED] BUREAU  
WAS REQUESTED TO [REDACTED] LOS ANGELES AND SEATTLE REQUESTED  
TO ASK SOURCES AT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] FOR ANY INDIVIDUAL MEETING SUBJECTS DESCRIPTION. (U)

ALL SOURCES OF SAN FRANCISCO OFFICE HAVE BEEN ALERTED TO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE  
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**SECRET**

DEC 9 1968

61 DEC 13 1968

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PAGE TWO

SF 100-55520

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SUBJECTS STATUS. DAILY CONTACT IS BEING MAINTAINED WITH CALIFORNIA  
DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS, STATE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE AND  
POLICE DEPARTMENTS  
P.D.'S OF SURROUNDING COMMUNITIES.

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REPORTED SIGHTINGS OF INDIVIDUALS RESEMBLING SUBJECT SUCH  
AS IN IMPERIAL VALLEY OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA AND ON A FLIGHT TO  
CHICAGO FROM LOS ANGELES AND OTHER SIMILAR INSTANCES HAVE ALL  
BEEN PURSUED AND WASHED OUT.

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b7C

SUBJECT NOT  
KNOWN TO HAVE OBTAINED PASSPORT SINCE HIS PAROLE IN DECEMBER  
SIXTY SIX.

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END PAGE TWO

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

PAGE THREE

SF 100-55520

[REDACTED] WHERE SUBJECT LAST KNOWN TO RESIDE ON THIS  
DATE. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] FURTHER ADVISED THAT ROUTINE LETTER TO  
ALL KNOWN ASSOCIATES AND RELATIVES OF SUBJECT ADVISING OF SUBJECTS  
FUGITIVE STATUS AND REQUESTING ASSISTANCE IN APPREHENSION HAD NOT  
BEEN MAILED AS OF LATE AFTERNOON TWELVE SIX SIXTY EIGHT.

SAN FRANCISCO IN POSSESSION OF NO INFORMATION WHICH WOULD  
INDICATE SUBJECT HAS FLED STATE OF CALIFORNIA AND CONSULTATION  
WITH UNITED STATES ATTORNEY CONCERNING UFAC AUTHORIZATION CONTINUING  
ON DAILY BASIS.

END

BGM

FBI WASH DC

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

P  
CC: MR. GALE



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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
Domestic Intelligence Division  
TAM/MLT/EHL

INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 11/29/68

Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information, Black Panther Party, parole revoked effective 9 A.M., 11/27/68, by California authorities as Cleaver did not appear as required.

In addition to offices mentioned in attached, this has been furnished to our offices in Indianapolis; Oklahoma City, Oklahoma; and Portland, as well as to Legats, Ottawa, and Mexico, with instructions appropriate sources be alerted for Cleaver's whereabouts. Copy of attached has been sent Inter-Division Information Unit of Department and Attorney General.

Lead received [redacted] that subject might be [redacted]

[redacted] Albuquerque is investigating.

RMH:sfw

*[Handwritten signatures and initials: "Jm", "Wes", "W"]*

b7D

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 27 1968

TELETYPE

FBI SAN FRAN

341PM URGENT 11/27/68 CMC

TO: DIRECTOR (100-447251), ALBANY, BALTIMORE, BOSTON, CHICAGO,  
DENVER, EL PASO, HOUSTON, KANSAS CITY, LOS ANGELES,  
NEWARK, NEW YORK, OMAHA, PITTSBURGH, SACRAMENTO,  
SAN DIEGO, SEATTLE, AND ST. LOUIS  
FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520) (P) 2P

RACIAL MATTER  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER; RM - BPP.

RE SAN FRANCISCO TELETYPE TO BUREAU, ET AL., NOVEMBER  
TWENTYONE, LAST.

CALIFORNIA DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS ORDERED SUBJECT TO  
TURN HIMSELF IN AT CALIFORNIA STATE BUILDING, SAN FRANCISCO,  
NINE A.M., NOVEMBER TWENTYSEVEN, INSTANT, AT WHICH TIME HIS  
PAROLE WAS TO BE CONSIDERED REVOKED AND HE WOULD BE RETURNED  
TO PRISON.

SUBJECT'S ATTORNEY, CHARLES GARRY, AND WIFE, KATHLEEN  
CLEAVER, APPEARED AT STATE BUILDING EIGHT FIFTYFIVE A.M. IN  
INTERVIEWS WITH PRESS BOTH STATED HAD NOT SEEN SUBJECT SINCE  
SUNDAY, NOVEMBER TWENTYFOUR, LAST, AND DID NOT KNOW WHERE HE WAS.

GARRY STATED HE HAD ADVISED SUBJECT TO TURN SELF IN AS ORDERED.  
GARRY FURTHER STATED HE EXPECTED SUBJECT TO APPEAR.

END PAGE ONE

57 DEC 12 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. DeLoach ✓  
Mr. Mohr ✓  
Mr. Bishop ✓  
Mr. Casper ✓  
Mr. Callahan ✓  
Mr. Conrad ✓  
Mr. Felt ✓  
Mr. Gale ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Sullivan ✓  
Mr. Tavel ✓  
Mr. Trotter ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Miss Holmes ✓  
Miss Gandy ✓

b6  
b7C

REC-42 100-447251-164

18 DEC 9 1968

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b7C

PAGE TWO

AT NINE THIRTY A.M. GARRY AND KATHLEEN CLEAVER DEPARTED  
STATING THEY WERE NOT GOING TO WAIT ANY LONGER. GARRY STATED  
HE WOULD CONTINUE TO REPRESENT SUBJECT AND NEXT LEGAL MOVE  
WOULD BE TO SEEK WRIT OF CERTIORARI FROM U.S. SUPREME COURT.

CLEAVER DID NOT APPEAR AND AT TEN FORTY A.M., CALIFORNIA  
DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS ISSUED ALL POINTS BULLETIN FOR  
SUBJECT'S ARREST.

SAN FRANCISCO SOURCES HAVE BEEN ALERTED.

INTERESTED OFFICES REQUESTED TO ALERT SOURCES.

BUREAU MAY WISH TO ALERT OTTAWA RE [REDACTED]

b7D

[REDACTED]

WARRANT OF ARREST BASED ON VIOLATION OF PAROLE WAS SIGNED  
BY HENRY W. KERR, CHAIRMAN, CALIFORNIA ADULT AUTHORITY, DEPARTMENT  
OF CORRECTIONS, ON NOVEMBER TWENTYTWO, LAST, WITH INSTRUCTIONS  
THAT IT WAS NOT SERVICEABLE UNTIL NOVEMBER TWENTYSEVEN, SIXTYEIGHT  
UNLESS CLEAVER ATTEMPTED TO LEAVE SAN FRANCISCO BAY AREA. THE  
APB WAS BASED ON THIS WARRANT AND CALIFORNIA DEPARTMENT OF  
CORRECTIONS WILL EXTRADITE.

END.

WA...LCC

FBI WASH DC

AL...WEB

FBI ALBANY

BA...

BS...RDS

FBI BOSTON

NK...JFN

FBI NEWARK

NY...WPK

FBI NEW YORK

PG...CAK

FBI PITTSBGH

BA...TLN

FBI BALTO

CLR

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU

MR. [REDACTED]  
ROOM 385 9&D

Xerox Rosen

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b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATION SECTION

NOV 29 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

FBI WASH DC

FBI ALBUQUEE

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DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

1253PM URGENT 11-29-68 MCC

TO DIRECTOR, PHOENIX, SAN DIEGO, OKLAHOMA CITY, SAN FRANCISCO

(L00-5520), AND DALLAS

FROM ALBUQUERQUE (100:3255)

ROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RM - BPP.

*CLEAVER, Eldridge*

RE DALLAS TELETYPE, THIS DATE.

OCCUPANTS OF PLANE OBSERVED AND PILOT INTERVIEWED AT  
ALBUQUERQUE, NM, THIS DATE.

PILOT [REDACTED] OTHER MALE

PASSENGER [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] OBSERVED AND DETERMINED NOT TO BE IDENTICAL WITH CLEAVER.

PLANE CONTINUING ON INTO TEXAS.

PHOTOGRAPH OF CLEAVER EXHIBITED TO INDIVIDUALS IN DEMING AND  
T OR C, NM, WHERE PLANE HAD LANDED AND NONE THOUGHT EITHER OCCUPANT  
ON PLANE IDENTICAL WITH CLEAVER.

END

GJM

FBI WASH DC

22 DEC 4 1968

MCT-1 REC-19

RACIAL INT. SECT.

MR. TRAINOR  
53 DEC 12 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/DATE November 18, 1968

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

b6  
b7C FROM

- 1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. T. E. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. [redacted]
- 1 - Mr. [redacted]

b6  
b7C

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

## SYNOPSIS:

Eldridge Cleaver, a leader of the extremist Black Panther Party (BPP), who is notorious for his revolutionary speeches couched in completely uninhibited gutter language, is the subject of a feature article by Don A. Schanche in the 11/16/68 issue of The Saturday Evening Post. A free copy of Cleaver's book, "Soul on Ice" ("a \$5.95 value") is offered in this issue as a subscription inducement.

The article describes Cleaver's background, political philosophy, and association with the BPP. It is based largely on Cleaver's self-serving statements in his book and urges "understanding" of the viewpoint of Cleaver who is described as the "Tom Paine" of the New Left. The resulting aggrandizement of a black revolutionist is unfitting for a national family magazine. The author, a former Saturday Evening Post Managing Editor, was placed on the Special Correspondents' List in 1964.

Some counteraction by nationally-read journalists should be taken to show Cleaver for what he is and to place his revolutionary ideas in perspective, namely, to show that they represent the ideas of a black lunatic fringe, to shame audiences who would applaud his filth, and to show how excusing and popularizing racial extremists increase their influence.

## RECOMMENDATION:

That this matter be referred to the Crime Records Division which should, with information furnished by the Domestic Intelligence Division, try to arrange with news media contacts to do an objective article to counter this distorted picture presented by The Saturday Evening Post.

100-447251

RMH:lmr/mfs

(6)

22 DEC 10 1968

SEE DETAILS - PAGE TWO

58 DEC 1 1968

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
100-447251

DETAILS:

A feature in the 11/16/68 issue of The Saturday Evening Post is an article concerning the subject, an official of the extremist Black Panther Party (BPP), written by Don A. Schanche. Cleaver's book, "Soul on Ice" ("a \$5.95 value"), is offered free in this issue for a year's subscription to The Saturday Evening Post.

Schanche's article is largely based on Cleaver's self-serving statements in his book. Although he does not conceal Cleaver's past as a rapist and jail bird and his present role as a revolutionist, the article is softened by urging the reader to "understand this man" and his position that white society must change to avert a black revolution which will "level the earth." He refers to Cleaver as the "Tom Paine of the New Left."

One ridiculous claim, if true, made in Schanche's article is the quotation attributed to Stan Carter, Cleaver's California Probation Officer, who says he no longer looks on the Black Panthers as hoodlums; "I consider them real gentlemen in the community."

Bufiles show that Schanche was Managing Editor of The Saturday Evening Post in early 1964. A letter dated 3/25/64 to Schanche from the Director congratulated him on his promotion to Editor of Holiday magazine. He was then added to the Special Correspondents' List. In 1964 Schanche was described as a strong supporter of the Director and the FBI and no derogatory references were located concerning him.

This article is another example of glorification of a criminal and a black revolutionist whose influence with black people would be considerably lessened if national magazines would ignore him. His book is a collection of essays written while he was in prison and its appeal is probably largely the fact that it is full of obscenities



Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
100-447251

and insulting comments concerning white people. It has the further attraction of being sex oriented and of revealing the contents of a series of love letters written by Cleaver while in prison to his attorney, a white woman. The fact that it is being offered as a subscription inducement is an indication of the low level to which editorial policy of The Saturday Evening Post has sunk, to say nothing of the low regard the magazine has for the reading tastes of the public.

Timely action should be taken by responsible journalists who have a national audience to place Cleaver's background and ideas in perspective and show that he and the audiences which applaud his revolutionary talk and gutter language represent the black and white minority.

*Review of Buckley  
Article 11/20/68  
attached which  
accuses him  
denied allegations -  
no further action  
being taken by  
Dad. 5 PM*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
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DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 UC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

FBI WASH DC

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

NOV 19 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

FBI MEMPHIS

353PM DEFERRED 11-19-68 SAB

TO DIRECTOR 157-8943, KNOXVILLE AND SAN FRANCISCO 157-1052

FROM MEMPHIS 157-1154 2P

ST- LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER; RM - BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

OO, SAN FRANCISCO.

FO INFO, CURRENT NEWS MEDIA PUBLICITY INDICATES LEROY  
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY IS TO APPEAR AT TWO  
OR THREE SPEAKING ENGAGEMENTS NASHVILLE, TENN., NOV. TWENTY ONE  
NEXT, CLEAVER'S TRIP TO TENNESSEE SPONSORED BY [REDACTED]

CLEAVER IS TO SPEAK AT VANDERBILT AND FISK UNIVERSITIES,  
NASHVILLE, AND PERHAPS A YET-UNDETERMINED NASHVILLE NEGRO  
CHURCH. HE IS TO MAKE AN APPEARANCE NOV. TWENTY NEXT AT  
KNOXVILLE, TENN.

METRO PD, NASHVILLE, ADVISED [REDACTED] HAS CONTACTED THAT  
DEPARTMENT AND INDICATED CLEAVER [REDACTED]

END PAGE ONE

54 DEC 1 2 1968

JUL 02 1969

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REC-76

157-8943-26

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16 DEC 6 1968

(5-70)

PAGE TWO

b7D

CHECK MEMPHIS INDICES REVEALS MEMPHIS FILES CONTAIN  
INSUFFICIENT DATA AT THIS TIME TO IDENTIFY [REDACTED]  
AND [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

STATE, LOCAL, MILITARY, U. S. SECRET SERVICE COGNIZANT.  
MEMPHIS WILL FOLLOW AND KEEP BUREAU ADVISED.  
LHM FOLLOWS. P.

END

CAB

FBI WASH DC

P

b6  
b7C

cc- *Xerox Rosen*  
MR. [REDACTED]  
ROOM 836 9&D

~~SECRET~~

DATE: 05-01-2006

CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1)

05-01-2006 Classification per OGA letter  
dated 04-11-2008 Domestic Intelligence Division

## INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 12/3/68

Attached relates that [redacted]  
Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, who is a leader of  
the extremist Black Panther Party and a  
fugitive of the State of California, [redacted]

b6  
b7C

Legat, London, has been advised to  
alert Swedish sources [redacted]

b1

Copies of the attached have been  
furnished to the Inter-Division Information  
Unit of the Department and the Attorney  
General.

Dissemination of pertinent data  
herein being made to Inter-Division  
Information Unit of the Department, as  
well as to Criminal and Internal Security  
Divisions.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
RAB:sfw HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

*Gen**D*~~SECRET~~

WA

-----04-----

VIA TELETYPE

DEC 3 1968

ENCIPHERED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 04-06-2006 BY 60309 AUC  
9-48 PM PSI URGENT 12-2-68 WEN

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. DeLoach ✓  
Mr. Mohr ✓  
Mr. Bishop ✓  
Mr. Casper ✓  
Mr. Callahan ✓  
Mr. Conrad ✓  
Mr. Felt ✓  
Mr. Gale ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Sullivan ✓  
Mr. Tavel ✓  
Mr. Trotter ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Miss Holmes ✓  
Miss Gandy ✓

TO DIRECTOR ENCODE.  
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520) 12P/

RACIAL MATTERS  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RM - BPP, POSSIBLE UFAC.\*  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

RE MY TEL NOVEMBER TWENTYNINE LAST AND SF CALL TODAY.

SOURCE ADVISED

U. S. ATTORNEY CECIL POOLE AWARE  
AND ADVISED CALIFORNIA STATE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE ALSO

AWARE. HE IS FOLLOWING CASE CLOSELY AND APPEARS INCLINED TO  
AUTHORIZE UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID CONFINEMENT WARRANT IF STATE  
ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE OBTAINS SUBPOENA THEREBY  
PROTECTING SOURCE. SF OFFICE IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH USA AND WILL KEEP  
BUREAU ADVISED.

A SECOND SOURCE ADVISED

END OF P

TELETYPED TO:

FTB

\* UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID PROSECUTION

61 DEC 13 1968

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C  
b7D

b7D

b6  
b7C  
b7D

PAGE TWO.

SF 100 - 55520.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

ADMINISTRATIVE:

BUREAU MAY WISH TO ADVISE LEGAT, LONDON OF ABOVE IN VIEW OF PRE-  
VIOUS INFORMATION FROM LEGAT, LONDON RE [REDACTED]

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

SOURCES UTILIZED ARE [REDACTED]

SAN FRANCISCO AND [REDACTED]

END.

RM FBI WASH DC

COPY SENT AG AND IDIU

XEROX - *MALE*

*[Handwritten mark]*

b6  
b7C

cc - MR. [REDACTED]  
ROOM 836 9&D

1 Mr. [REDACTED]  
1 Foreign Liaison Unit

b6  
b7c

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

CODE

12/10/68

CABLEGRAM

URGENT

TO LEGATS OTTAWA  
LONDON  
MEXICO CITY

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-447251)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, FUGITIVE, RM - BPP,  
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

UNLAWFUL FLIGHT WARRANT ISSUED SAN FRANCISCO THIS DATE.  
SINCE POSSIBILITY EXISTS SUBJECT MAY FLEE UNITED STATES, BORDER  
OFFICES ESTABLISHING IMMEDIATE LIAISON WITH PORTS OF  
EMBARKATION TO INSURE MAXIMUM COVERAGE OF ALL MODES OF  
TRANSPORTATION DEPARTING THE UNITED STATES. INSURE/REPORTS  
CONCERNING SUBJECT RECEIVE MAXIMUM INVESTIGATIVE EFFORT  
THROUGH SOURCES.

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

EX-103  
REC 4

100-447251-168  
19 DEC 11 1968

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO.

JRF:egm  
(5)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

VIA TELETYPE  
DEC 10 1968  
ENCIPHERED

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☒

61 DEC 13 1968



CABLEGRAM TO OTTAWA

RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

NOTE: Subject Cleaver Minister of Information, Black Panther Party, initially committed to custody in March, 1958, for crime of assault with intent to commit murder and assault with a deadly weapon, which occurred during the commission of an act of rape. He was sentenced to a term of six months to 14 years on four counts and six months to ten years on remaining counts to run concurrently. He was released on parole in December, 1966, violated his parole in April, 1968, when he engaged in gun battle with Oakland, California, police officers. His parole was revoked and he has failed to surrender to continue serving sentence. After some delay, the United States Attorney has now authorized unlawful flight process this date for Cleaver's arrest. [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

In view of the strong possibility that subject Cleaver may be attempting to leave this country to avoid returning to prison, maximum investigative effort being made to locate and apprehend.

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley  
Assistant Attorney General

December 11, 1968

Director, FBI

1 - Mr.

b6  
b7c

*gm*  
**LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY**

Enclosed for review are transcripts of speeches given by the subject at Stanford University on October 1, 1968, at Sacramento State College on October 2, 1968, at San Francisco State College on October 9, 1968, and at Iona College on October 11, 1968. A memorandum concerning the Iona College speech was furnished with my letter dated October 15, 1968.

Enclosures - 4

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

100-447251

- 2 - New York
- 2 - Sacramento
- 2 - San Francisco (15-1204)

NOTE FOR SACs NEW YORK, SACRAMENTO, AND SAN FRANCISCO:

Tapes of the speeches referred to above should be retained until the Department advises that they are no longer needed as possible evidence. Insure that FD-302's have been prepared to show the identity of the individual furnishing the tapes and pertinent facts furnished by each such potential witness.

RMH:ser:jth  
(10)

REC 54

12 DEC 11 1968

NOTE:

Subject is Minister of Information of black extremist Black Panther Party. He gave a series of speeches at college campuses during 9-10/68, which contained frequent references to his revolutionary intent. By letter 11-20-68, the Department advised that subject's speeches standing alone are not actionable under the ruling in Dennis v. U.S. Transcripts are being

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE TWO

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

Mr. J. Walter Yeagley

NOTE CONTINUED

furnished because they may contain information showing revolutionary aims and purposes of Black Panther Party leadership and could be of evidentiary value in a prosecution under the Smith Act or related statutes under which the Department has requested a continuing investigation of the Black Panther Party. Enclosed are enclosures to San Francisco airtels 11-25-68, 11-29-68, and enclosures to 100-447251-123 and 100-448006-338. Enclosures transmitted under "Obscene" cover in view of frequent obscenities appearing in speeches.

1 Mr.

b6  
b7c

12/10/68

PLAINTEXT

TELETYPE

URGENT

TO ALL SACS

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-447251)

LERROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, FUGITIVE, RM - BPP,  
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

RE ALL SAC TEL DECEMBER SIX, LAST.

FOR INFORMATION ALL OFFICES UNLAWFUL FLIGHT WARRANT  
ISSUED SAN FRANCISCO THIS DATE. SINCE POSSIBILITY EXISTS SUBJECT  
MAY FLEE UNITED STATES, BORDER OFFICES ESTABLISH IMMEDIATE  
LIAISON WITH PORTS OF EMBARKATION TO INSURE MAXIMUM COVERAGE OF  
ALL MODES OF TRANSPORTATION DEPARTING THE UNITED STATES. INSURE  
THAT MAXIMUM INVESTIGATIVE EFFORT IS AFFORDED THIS MATTER.

KEEP BUREAU ADVISED OF DEVELOPMENTS.

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

12 DEC 11 1968

SEE NOTE PAGE 2.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATION SECTION

DEC 10 1968

504 PMCK  
TELETYPE

VIA TELETYPE

DEC 10 1968

035 PMCK  
ENCIPHERED

JRF:egm:d1c  
(4)

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

DEC 16 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

b6  
b7C

SAC, San Francisco

12/11/68

Director, FBI

1 - Field Guidance Folder

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

✓ LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

RM - BPP

Bufile: 100-447251

San Francisco File: 100-55520

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC

TAM/MLT/EHL

g [REDACTED] RM - BPP

Bufile: 157-8943

San Francisco File: 157-1057

b6  
b7C

Remrtel 12/8/68 [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

Note that retel was sent "for information."

[REDACTED] is a Security Index subject

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] specific leads should be set out to cover [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] could have a bearing on the location of Eldridge Cleaver, which is further reason for setting out specific leads.

b6  
b7C

For your information, New York Office was telephonically instructed to attempt to develop information concerning [REDACTED]

1 - 105-165706 (Black Panther Party)

RMH:mk1  
(8) mkl

REC-12

EX-103

100-447251-171  
19 DEC 11 1968

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAILED 24

DEC 10 1968

COMM-FBI

51 DEC 17 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

157-8943-105-165706  
UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

December 5, 1968 4

SPECIAL INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION

Attached teletype from S. San Francisco, concerns Leroy Elridge Cleaver, leader of Black Panther Party, who is being sought by California Parole authorities. California State Department of Corrections advises action being taken to search subject's last known residence and circular letter mailed to subject's relatives and former close associates. Oakland, California, Police Department source And San Francisco Office source both advise prevalent feeling in Negro community is that Cleaver is still in San Francisco area. Acting Chief of Police, San Francisco, Police Department and California Attorney General's Office both advise that they have no information upon which to base request for unlawful flight issuance. Matter again discussed by SAC with U. S. Attorney who advises he is maintaining close contact with local authorities but does not feel at this time issuance of unlawful flight process justified. San Francisco will continue to follow closely.

CWH:sev

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-08-2005 BY 60309 AUC

TAM/MLT/EEL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 ALC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

VIA TELETYPE

DEC 5 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

WA 03

1210PM URGENT 12-5-68 MS

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251) PLAINTEXT  
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520) 2P

*RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY*  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER; *BM - BPP; POSSIBLE U.S. AIR FORCE FLIGHT TO AVOID CONFINEMENT*

[REDACTED] SPECIAL AGENT, SPECIAL SERVICES DIVISION, CALIFORNIA  
STATE DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS, SAN FRANCISCO, ADVISED HE EXPECTS TO  
MEET WITH SUBJECT'S PAROLE OFFICER THIS DATE TO INITIATE ACTION TO  
SEARCH SUBJECT'S LAST KNOWN RESIDENCE, [REDACTED]  
SAN FRANCISCO, THE HOME OF [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ALSO EXPECTS THAT  
CIRCULAR LETTER TO ALL SUBJECT'S RELATIVES AND CLOSE ASSOCIATES ADVISING  
THEM OF SUBJECT'S FUGITIVE STATUS WILL BE MAILED THIS DATE.

ON DECEMBER FOUR, LAST, [REDACTED] INTELLIGENCE UNIT, *Police Dept* OAKLAND PD,  
ADVISED THAT A SOURCE HE CONSIDERS REASONABLY RELIABLE, ADVISED ON

CLARIFIED. *Dec*

ON DECEMBER FOUR, LAST, A SOURCE WHO IS IN CONTACT WITH NEGRO COM-  
MUNITY AND SOME MEMBERS OF *BLACK PANTHER PARTY* BPP IN OAKLAND, ADVISED THAT PREVALENT  
FEELING IS THAT CLEAVER IS STILL IN SAN FRANCISCO.

END PAGE ONE

XEROX

REC-23

EX-103

DEC 5 1968

DEC 5 1968

TELETYPE TO  
F-51 DEC 19 1968

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C  
b7D

b6  
b7C



PAGE TWO

ACTING CHIEF OF POLICE AL NELDER, SAN FRANCISCO PD, AND MR. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S OFFICE, STATE OF CALIFORNIA, RECONTACTED  
AND BOTH ADVISED THEY HAVE NO INFORMATION UPON WHICH TO BASE A REQUEST  
FOR UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID CONFINEMENT AND DO NOT DESIRE TO PURSUE  
THIS FURTHER AT THIS TIME SINCE THEY FEEL THAT THE ISSUANCE OF SUCH A  
PROCESS NOW IS PREMATURE. THEY HAVE INDICATED THAT IF THEY RECEIVE  
INFORMATION INDICATING CLEAVER IS OUT OF STATE THEY WILL MAKE SUCH A  
REQUEST.

b6  
b7C

SAC AGAIN DISCUSSED THIS MATTER WITH USA POOLE WHO ADVISED THAT  
HE IS MAINTAINING CLOSE CONTACT WITH LOCAL AUTHORITIES AND HAD JUST  
DISCUSSED THE MATTER WITH CALIFORNIA ATTORNEY GENERAL THOMAS LYNCH  
WHO DOES NOT FEEL AT THIS TIME THAT ISSUANCE OF A FEDERAL COMPLAINT IS  
JUSTIFIED. MR. POOLE STATES THAT ALL CONCERNED, INCLUDING HIMSELF,  
ARE WILLING TO PROCEED WITH <sup>UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID CONFINEMENT</sup> UEAC PROCESS BUT DO NOT FEEL AT THIS TIME  
ANY INFORMATION HAS BEEN DEVELOPED ON WHICH PROCESS CAN BE BASED.

~~ADMINISTRATIVE DATA~~

~~REMYTEL DECEMBER THREE, LAST, AND BUREAU DECEMBER FOUR, LAST.~~ <sup>EM</sup>

~~SOURCE UTILIZED IS~~ [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

b2  
b7D

SAN FRANCISCO WILL CLOSELY FOLLOW AND BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

END

PAO FBI WAH DC

CC: MR. GALE & 7 ug. *Saper*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

RA  
**Memorandum**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC

TEAM/MLT/EHL

DATE: 1 DEC 18 68

TO : b6  
b7C

FROM :

SUBJECT:

*wet (ing)*  
*les (ing)*  
LeRoy Eldridge "Clown", Jr.

The attached Wanted Flyer has been received in the Records Branch, appropriately initialed, and indicated for file. By use of instant transmittal memorandum, all necessary recording and indexing will be accomplished. It is to be noted this form is for internal use only within the Records Branch, principally by the Routing Unit where bulky material not accompanied by memorandum is usually received.

The enclosure, if bulky and not usually filed with other papers in file, may be detached but this action should be clearly noted under the word "Enclosure."

Enc.

2- ~~ENCLOSURE~~

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

DEC 20 1968

100-447251-  
NOT RECORDED

DEC 18 1968

*filed*  
*9*  
*John*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

100-447251-

ENCLOSURE

# WANTED BY THE FBI

**INTERSTATE FLIGHT - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER**  
**LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM

FBI No. 214,830 B



Photograph taken 1966



Photographs taken 1968

Edridge Cleaver, Jr.

## DESCRIPTION

*752  
12-13-68  
12-13-68  
12-13-68*

**Age:** 33, born August 31, 1935, Little Rock, Arkansas  
**Height:** 6' 2"  
**Weight:** 185 to 195 pounds  
**Build:** Medium  
**Hair:** Black  
**Occupations:** Author, clerk, laborer, magazine editor, reporter, writer  
**Scars and Marks:** Numerous pock scars on back and torso  
**Remarks:** Sometimes wears small gold earring in pierced left ear lobe

*752  
12-13-68  
12-13-68  
12-13-68*

**Fingerprint Classification:** 24 L 13 U OOM 19

I 2 U OOI

## CRIMINAL RECORD

Cleaver has been convicted of assault with intent to commit murder, assault with a deadly weapon and possession of narcotics.

## CAUTION

CLEAVER ALLEGEDLY HAS ENGAGED POLICE OFFICERS IN GUN BATTLE IN THE PAST. CONSIDER ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

A Federal warrant was issued on December 10, 1968, at San Francisco, California, charging Cleaver with unlawful interstate flight to avoid confinement after conviction for assault with intent to commit murder (Title 18, U. S. Code, Section 1073).

**IF YOU HAVE ANY INFORMATION CONCERNING THIS PERSON, PLEASE NOTIFY ME OR CONTACT YOUR LOCAL FBI OFFICE. TELEPHONE NUMBERS AND ADDRESSES OF ALL FBI OFFICES LISTED ON BACK.**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

Wanted Flyer 447  
December 13, 1968

100-447251

*file  
9  
Jan*

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
DIRECTOR  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535  
TELEPHONE, NATIONAL 8-7117

100-447251-

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL



~~SECRET~~

DATE: 05-01-2006

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT CLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3(1) 12/6/68  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE 05-01-2031

CODE

Classification per OGA letter  
TELETYPE dated 04-11-2006

URGENT

1 - Mr. [REDACTED]  
1 - Mr. [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

SENT BY CODED TELETYPE

TO SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

FROM DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RM, BPP.

REURTELS DECEMBER THREE AND FIVE LAST NOTING MINIMAL  
EFFORTS BY LOCAL AUTHORITIES TO APPREHEND SUBJECT.

CLEAVER SHOULD BE CONSIDERED AS MISSING SECURITY INDEX  
SUBJECT AND INVESTIGATION TO LOCATE OUTLINED IN MANUAL OF  
INSTRUCTIONS, SECTION EIGHTY SEVEN D, PAGE THIRTY TWO MUST  
BE CONDUCTED. UNTIL SUCH TIME AS POSITIVE INFORMATION IS  
RECEIVED FROM RELIABLE SOURCES AS TO HIS WHEREABOUTS, YOUR  
OFFICE IS TO FURNISH DAILY TELETYPE SHOWING ACTION TAKEN BY  
YOUR OFFICE TO LOCATE. IN ABSENCE OF OTHER INFORMATION,  
POSSIBILITY SUBJECT MAY HAVE LEFT COUNTRY MUST BE CONSIDERED  
AND ACTED UPON. IMMEDIATELY FURNISH MEMORANDUM FOR  
DISSEMINATION TO LEGATS [REDACTED] SETTING OUT BRIEF BACKGROUND,  
FACTS RE FUGITIVE STATUS, FULL PHYSICAL DESCRIPTIONS OF  
SUBJECT AND WIFE AND PHOTOS OF BOTH. ADVISE WHEREABOUTS  
KATHLEEN CLEAVER. DETERMINE IF SUBJECT ISSUED PASSPORT.

RMH:bib

(4)

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

31 DEC 23 1968

54 DEC 18 1968

TELETYPE UNIT

~~SECRET~~

b6  
b7C



~~SECRET~~

TELETYPE TO SAC, SAN FRANCISCO  
RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
100-447251

NOTE:

Subject failed to appear 11/27/68 after parole revoked; is State of California fugitive. He is Minister of Information of Black Panther Party. Investigation referred to in Manual of Instructions, Section 87D, page 32, requires preferential and continuous attention; that all possible leads be covered including discreet checks, under pretext, with former neighbors, former fellow employees or associates and, where advisable, with known relatives; that every conceivable means be used to locate and investigation handled as thoroughly and promptly as a fugitive investigation but in such a manner as will not alert subject.

~~SECRET~~

CODE

December 7, 1968

TELETYPE SENT BY CODED TELETYPE URGENT

EX-113

TO ALL OFFICES

REC 43

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-44725)

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Gale
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. [redacted]

b6  
b7c

LEROY ELDRIDGE GLEAVER, RM, BLACK PANTHER PARTY, 1 - Mr. [redacted]

OO: SAN FRANCISCO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 1/13/81 BY [redacted]

SUBJECT IS MINISTER OF INFORMATION OF BLACK EXTREMIST BLACK  
PANTHER PARTY AND IS LISTED IN SECURITY INDEX. HE FAILED TO  
APPEAR NOVEMBER TWENTY-SEVEN LAST IN RESPONSE TO ORDER OF  
CALIFORNIA STATE AUTHORITIES REVOKING PAROLE, PRESENT WHEREABOUTS  
UNKNOWN. SUBJECT ALSO ON FIFTY THOUSAND DOLLARS BAIL FOR  
APPEARANCE DECEMBER TWENTY-THREE NEXT TO ANSWER ASSAULT WITH  
DEADLY WEAPON CHARGES RESULTING FROM SHOOT-OUT WITH OAKLAND,  
CALIFORNIA, POLICE APRIL LAST. HE HAS STATED HE WOULD NOT  
RETURN TO PRISON AND HOPED BLACK COMMUNITY AND WHITE SYMPATHIZERS  
WOULD HIDE HIM.

U. S. ATTORNEY, SAN FRANCISCO, HAS DECLINED TO AUTHORIZE

WFO (BY SPECIAL MESSENGER)

RMH:ekw  
(9)

VIA TELETYPE

DEC 9 1968

7:36 AM [redacted]

51 DEC 24 1968 ENCL PHERED

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☒

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

WCS  
GMP  
[redacted]

CP

TELETYPE TO ALL OFFICES  
LEROY ELDREDGE CLEAVER  
100-44725

UNLAWFUL FLIGHT COMPLAINT TO DATE BUT STATES HE IS FOLLOWING  
CLOSELY AND WILL AUTHORIZE WHEN HE FEELS SUFFICIENT INFORMATION  
HAS BEEN DEVELOPED UPON WHICH FEDERAL PROCESS CAN BE BASED.  
EFFORTS OF CALIFORNIA STATE AUTHORITIES AND LOCAL POLICE TO  
LOCATE HAVE BEEN MINIMAL.



b6  
b7C

IN VIEW OF SUBJECT'S NOTORIETY, HIS STATUS AS MISSING  
SECURITY INDEX SUBJECT, AND IN ANTICIPATION OF UNLAWFUL FLIGHT  
WARRANT EVENTUALLY BEING ISSUED, IMMEDIATE EFFORTS ARE TO BE  
MADE BY ALL OFFICES THROUGH INFORMANTS AND SOURCES TO LOCATE  
SUBJECT. EACH LOGICAL INFORMANT OR SOURCE IS TO BE GIVEN THE  
SPECIFIC ASSIGNMENT OF OBTAINING INFORMATION CONCERNING  
SUBJECT'S WHEREABOUTS. THIS IS TO INCLUDE ALL INFORMANTS  
AND SOURCES REPORTING ON BPP ACTIVITY.

TELETYPE TO ALL OFFICES  
LEROY ELBRIDGE CLEAVER  
100-44725

PHOTOS AND DESCRIPTIONS OF SUBJECT AND WIFE IN BLACK  
NATIONALIST PHOTO ALBUM IN POSSESSION EACH OFFICE. PHOTOS OF  
SUBJECT ALSO IN DECEMBER, ONE NINE SIX EIGHT ISSUE OF PLAYBOY  
MAGAZINE AND DECEMBER NINE, ONE NINE SIX EIGHT ISSUE OF  
NEWSWEEK MAGAZINE.

IN EVENT SUBJECT LOCATED OUTSIDE STATE OF CALIFORNIA,  
IMMEDIATELY NOTIFY THE BUREAU BY TELEPHONE IN ORDER THAT  
APPROPRIATE STEPS CAN BE TAKEN TO OBTAIN WFAC WARRANT FOR  
HIS ARREST.

HANDLE LEADS BY TELETYPE. CONSIDER ARMED AND DANGEROUS.  
COPY SENT WFO.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/LT/EHE DATE December 6, 1968

Tolson ☒  
DeLoach ☒  
Mohr ☐  
Bishop ☐  
Casper ☐  
Callahan ☐  
Conrad ☐  
Felt ☐  
Gale ☐  
Rosen ☐  
Sullivan ☐  
Tavel ☐  
Trotter ☐  
Tele. Room ☐  
Holmes ☐  
Gandy ☐

TO : MR. W. C. SULLIVAN

FROM : MR.  *SH*

b6  
b7C

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

The attached teletype to all offices points out that the subject, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party, is a State of California fugitive, having failed to appear on a parole revocation order 11/27/68. His whereabouts is unknown. The teletype instructs each office to give logical informants and sources the specific assignment of obtaining information concerning his location.

The San Francisco police, the State of California Attorney General's office, and Cecil Poole, U. S. Attorney, San Francisco, state there is no information upon which to base a Federal Unlawful Flight to Avoid Confinement warrant and none has been issued.

There has been little effort on the part of the California authorities to apprehend Cleaver and although some San Francisco sources feel, without factual basis, that Cleaver is still in that area he could easily be any place in the United States or abroad. The minimum the Bureau should do at this time is to have our informants attempt to develop information concerning him. San Francisco is being instructed separately to conduct the discreet fugitive-type investigation required on missing Security Index subjects.

RECOMMENDATION:

REC 43

100-447251-174

The attached <sup>13</sup>teletype should be sent to all offices.

RMH:ekw *ekw*  
(7)

6 DEC 11 1968

b6

b7C

Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Gale

- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr.
- 1 - Mr.

RACIAL INT. SEC.

1 - Mr. [redacted]

b6  
b7C

12/10/68

**AIRTEL**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

**To: SAC, San Francisco (100-55520)**

**From: Director, FBI (100-447251)** -175

**LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER**  
**RM - BPP**

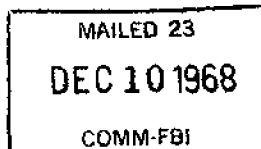
Referral/Direct

A [redacted]  
originating with the Seattle Field Office, [redacted]

Seattle is to immediately determine the source of  
this information, which was not previously brought to the  
Bureau's attention; and San Francisco is instructed to  
advise if such information was received from the [redacted]

**2 - Seattle**

RMH:jms  
(6)



Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_

394  
DEC 20 1968  
TELETYPE UNIT

979602

VIA TELETYPE

DEC 10 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

WA ----8----

FBI NEW YORK

4:55 PM URGENT 12-10-68 AWS

TO DIRECTOR 100-447251, SAN FRANCISCO 100-55520 (PLAIN)

SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-161321

*D TC Posted*  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, FUGITIVE, RM-BPP, UFAC-  
ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, OO:SF.

b6  
b7C

REBUTEL DECEMBER TEN INSTANT; SF TEL DECEMBER  
NINE LAST AND NY TEL CALL TO SF DECEMBER TEN INSTANT.  
INVESTIGATION THIS DATE AT NEW YORK

NYC, REVEALED THAT

b6  
b7C

END PAGE ONE

TELETYPED TO:

6 DEC 26 1968  
SF

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

1968

b6  
b7C



PLAINTEXT

12/10/68

b6  
b7C

TELETYPE

URGENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

TO SACS SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)  
NEW YORK

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-447251)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, FUGITIVE, RM - BPP,  
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

RE SAN FRANCISCO TELETYPE DECEMBER NINE, LAST.

SAN FRANCISCO AND NEW YORK GIVE MAXIMUM  
INVESTIGATIVE AND SUPERVISORY ATTENTION TO THIS MATTER  
LEADING TOWARD EARLY APPREHENSION OF SUBJECT. MAXIMUM  
UTILIZATION OF BOTH RACIAL AND CRIMINAL INFORMANTS MUST BE  
MADE.

NEW YORK MAINTAIN MOST DISCREET SURVEILLANCE ON  
SUBJECT'S WIFE, KATHLEEN CLEAVER, AND INSURE OTHER OFFICES  
AWARE OF DESIRED COVERAGE SHOULD SHE MOVE TO OTHER FIELD  
DIVISION TERRITORY.

SAN FRANCISCO IMMEDIATELY PREPARE AND FORWARD TO BUREAU  
FD-SIXTYONE FOR POSSIBLE ISSUANCE OF WANTED FLYER ON SUBJECT.

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO.

JRF:egm  
(4)

VIA TELETYPE

ENCIPHERED

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

61 DEC 19 1968

TELETYPE UNIT ☒

TELETYPE TO SAN FRANCISCO  
RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

BOTH OFFICES FORWARD DAILY AIRTEL SUMMARY OF INVESTIGATION  
CONDUCTED.

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

NOTE: Subject Cleaver, Minister of Information, Black Panther Party, initially committed to custody in March, 1958, for crime of assault with intent to commit murder and assault with a deadly weapon, which occurred during the commission of an act of rape. He was sentenced to a term of six months to 14 years on four counts and six months to ten years on remaining counts to run concurrently. He was released on parole in December, 1966, violated his parole in April, 1968, when he engaged in a gun battle with Oakland, California, police officers. His parole was revoked and he has failed to surrender to continue serving sentence. After some delay, the United States Attorney has now authorized unlawful flight process this date for Cleaver's arrest.

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED]

In view of the strong possibility that subject Cleaver may be attempting to leave this country to avoid returning to prison, maximum investigative effort being made to locate and apprehend.

VIA TELETYPE

DEC 12 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

WASHINGTON --02-- NEW YORK --02--

1252 PM URGENT 12-12-68 KXC

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251) AND NEW YORK PLAINTEXT  
FROM NEWARK (157-2679) (P)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE, RM - BPP, UFAC -  
ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, OO--SF.

RE ALL SAC TEL TWELVE TEN LAST.

ADVISED

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C  
b7D

ON TWELVE ELEVEN LAST, A SOURCE WITH WHOM INSUFFICIENT  
CONTACT HAS BEEN HAD TO DETERMINE RELIABILITY, BUT WHO IS  
END PAGE ONE

REC 58

RE DEC 14

RACIAL INT. S

50 DEC 20 1968

PAGE TWO

CLOSE TO BPP ACTIVITIES IN NEW JERSEY, ADVISED THERE IS NO  
INDICATION THAT SUBJECT IS IN NEWARK AREA OR THAT HE HAS  
ATTEMPTED TO CONTACT NEWARK BPP LEADERS.

CONSIDER ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

ADMINISTRATIVE--

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

MAIL COPY TO SAN FRANCISCO.

NO DISCLOSURE SHOULD BE MADE AS TO [REDACTED] BEING

b6  
b7C  
b7D

THE SOURCE OF THE ABOVE INFORMATION SINCE TO DO SO COULD  
RESULT IN DESTROYING A LINE OF COMMUNICATION THIS OFFICE  
HAS WITH THIS INDIVIDUAL.

END

CJD

FBI WASH DC

CC MR. SULLIVAN

FBI

Date: 12/11/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)  
 FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-161321) (P)  
 RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE  
 RACIAL MATTERS-BPP, UFAC -  
 ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO  
 COMMIT MURDER  
 (OO: SF)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
 DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
 TAM/MLT/EHL

ReNYairtel 12/10/68.

The following is a summary of results of investigation conducted on 12/11/68.

Emergency, local F-2 stop placed with INS and Customs, NYC, for subject. INS officials advise no departure coverage available, however, subject's photo furnished for any information that can be developed.

Sources and informants of the NYO, both racial and criminal, contacted re whereabouts of subject and current location of subject's wife. No pertinent data developed. [redacted] advised subject [redacted] and may seek aid of white community in order to elude arrest.

Contacts made with international airlines in NYC, stops placed for any departure information on subject. Negative information developed re [redacted]

- 3 - Bureau (RM)  
 1 - San Francisco (100-55520) REC 58  
 1 - New York

JDB:slb

(6)

1 - Supv. #43

Approved

51 DEC 19 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

Per

b6  
b7C

100-447251-179

EX-100

15 DEC 12 1968

RECEIVED  
 FBI  
 12/11/68

NY 100-161321

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] interviewed and advised that [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] has no information as to current whereabouts of subject and if she does obtain any information, she will notify the FBI.

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED]

has no further information re present whereabouts of KATHLEEN CLEAVER and subject. Representatives of Black Journal unavailable this date. NYO indices negative re Black Journal. NYO to follow.

BPP leaders and/or activists at NYC interviewed and no information developed re whereabouts of subject. Continuous efforts being made to contact all leaders and activists of BPP in hopes to develop positive leads on subject's whereabouts.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATION SECTION

DEC 11 1968

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

FBI WASH DC

FBI LOS ANG.

1:29PM URGENT 12-11-68 NJZ

TO DIRECTOR, LAS VEGAS AND SAN FRANCISCO  
FROM LOS ANGELES

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, FUGITIVE, RM - BPP, UFAC - ASSAULT  
WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

REBURTEL TO ALL SAC'S DECEMBER TEN LAST AND LOS ANGELES  
TELEPHONE CALL TO LAS VEGAS DECEMBER ELEVEN INSTANT.

FURNISHED INFORMATION AFTER HE LEARNED FBI SEEKING SUBJECT.

COULD FURNISH NO FURTHER DATA TO ASSIST.

END PAGE ONE

REC 11

100-447257-180

6 DEC 13 1968

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Bishop  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C

XEROX

DEC 11 1968

59 DEC 20 1968



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 603 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

VIA TELETYPE

DEC 11 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

WA 8

429 PM URGENT 12-11-68 JLW

TO DIRECTOR 100-447251 WASHINGTON FIELD AND SAN FRANCISCO 100-55520

ATT. DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION (CODE)

SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON

FROM NEW YORK 100-161321 2P

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUG; RM - BPP, UFAC - ASSAULT  
WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER (OO - SF)

A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, RELIABLE, ADVISED THIS DATE



b6  
b7C



b6  
b7C

1257-181

ADMINISTRATIVE

REC 11

6 DEC 13 1968

REBUTEL TO ALL SACS, TWELVE TEN SIXTYEIGHT,

b6  
b7C SAN FRANCISCO REPORT OF SA [REDACTED] SEVEN EIGHT SIXTYEIGHT

NEW YORK TEL CALL TO WFO THIS DATE.

END PAGE ONE  
59 DEC 20 1968 TELETYPE TO: SF

2cc's WFO

6:55pm advised  
6:01pm 12/11/68  
7:00pm 12/11/68  
F. J. [signature]

SOURCE IS [REDACTED]

REFERENCED REPORT - COPY TO WFO CAPTIONED [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED]

WFO, AS BUREAU HAD DIRECTED, DISCREETLY ATTEMPT TO  
ASCERTAIN IF SUBJECT WITH PARENTS, IF LOCATED - MAINTAIN  
DISCREET SURVEILLANCE.

BUREAU WIL BE KEPT ADVISED OF DEVELOPMENTS.

END

RDR R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

CC MR. SULLIVAN

FBI

Date: 12/10/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER-  
FUGITIVE  
RM-BPP  
UFAC-ASSAULT TO  
COMMIT MURDER  
OO: San Francisco

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

Re Bureau teletype 12/10/68.

Authorized complaint filed this date by SA [redacted]  
[redacted] before U.S. Commissioner RICHARD S. GOLDSMITH, San  
Francisco, California, charging Subject with violation of Title  
18, Section 1073, U.S. Code, (UFAC-parole violation, assault  
with intent to commit murder, assault with intent to commit  
rape, and assault with deadly weapon.) and issued bond recommended  
\$100,000.00 surety or cash. California State Department of  
Correction authorities, CII Investigators, and State Attorney  
General's Office contacted and no new current information of  
value developed.

Records of all toll calls from phones listed to  
Subject and his wife are being requested. [redacted]

[redacted] 157 file on Subject being reviewed for  
names, addresses, and telephone numbers of all close associates  
and relatives. Logical leads obtained through above will be  
set out.

3 - Bureau  
2 - New York  
2 - San Francisco  
RCD/rlg  
(7)

REC 5  
EX-101

12-447251-182  
11 DEC 12 1968b6  
b7C

5-  
RACIAL INT. SECT.

cc: 56 DEC 20 1968  
Approved: [Signature]  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

5-  
RACIAL INT. SECT.

SF 52-15474  
RCD/rlg

LEADS:

NEW YORK

AT NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK: Will contact Mc Graw-Hill Publishing Company, the publisher of the Subject's book, Soul on Ice, for any information re Subject's whereabouts or inquiries re royalties on book. Will, through Mc Graw-Hill, attempt to locate and interview [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

It is to be noted that all offices have already been furnished a photo and full description of Subject, which appears in the Black Nationalist Photo Album of all offices.

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS

F B I

Date: 12/10/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251) TAM/MLT/EHL

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-161321)

SUBJECT: *100-161321*  
 LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER -  
 FUGITIVE  
 RM - BPP  
 UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER  
 (OO: SF)

ReSftel, 12/9/68; Butel, 12/10/68 and NY  
 teletypes 12/10/68.

The following is a summary of investigation  
 conducted on 12/10/68, re this matter:



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b6  
 b7C

- 3 - Bureau (RM)  
 1 - San Francisco (100-55520) (INFO) (RM)  
 1 - New York (43)

D. C. - Bishop  
 JDB:egb  
 (6)

REC 53

DEC 11 1968

EX-100

FBI SUP

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: *394*  
 Special Agent in Charge

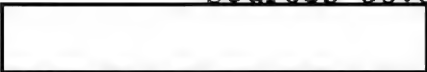
Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

NY 100-161321



b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C

Sources covering residences of STOKELY CARMICHAEL  
 could furnish no information re subject  
Other sources and informants of the  
NYO alerted re subject and possible whereabouts of subject's  
wife. Maximum utilization of racial and criminal informants  
being made and specific assignments given sources to develop  
data on whereabouts of subject and no pertinent information  
developed to date.

BSS, NYCPD, advised and could furnish no information  
re subject and/or wife.

NYO vigorously continuing investigation.

EXTREMELY  
ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

NA 2  
1710A 12/12

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

VIA TELETYPE  
DEC 11 1968  
ENCIPHERED

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. DeLoach
- Mr. Mohr
- Mr. Bishop
- Mr. Casper
- Mr. Callahan
- Mr. Conrad
- Mr. Felt
- Mr. Gale
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Sullivan
- Mr. Tavel
- Mr. Trotter
- Tele. Room
- Miss Holmes
- Miss Gandy

WA -----20-----

FBI NEW YORK 11:05 PM URGENT 12-11-68 AWS  
TO DIRECTOR 100-447251, WASHINGTON FIELD AND SAN FRANCISCO  
100-155520 (CODE)

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION  
FROM NEW YORK 100-161321

b6  
b7C

ph

LEROEY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER-FUGITIVE, RM-BPP.  
UFAC-ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER OO:SF.

RE NYTEL THIS DATE.

INVESTIGATION IN THE VICINITY OF RESIDENCE OF

[REDACTED] HAS FAILED TO DISCLOSE PRESENCE OF

[REDACTED] SUBJECT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND HAVE NO INFORMATION RE PRESENT WHEREABOUTS.

CONTACT WITH [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

B

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED]

END PAGE ONE  
TWO COPIES WFO

TELETYPED TO:  
58 DEC 11 1968  
SF

XEROX  
DEC 1968

REC 58  
EX-113  
DEC 18 1968

100-447251-184

700



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

FBI

Date: 12/9/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)  
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)  
SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

Re Bureau airtel to San Francisco, 12/4/68.

[redacted] Special Agent, Special Services Unit, California  
Department of Corrections; and [redacted] California State  
Attorney General's Office at San Francisco, all advised that  
no information has come to their attention indicating that  
the Subject might have received help from an underground  
organization to leave the country. All were unable to  
provide any information concerning news reports to the effect  
that Subject may have received such help.

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b7C

102

C. C. Bishop

REC 5

100-447251-185

3 - Bureau  
2 - San Francisco  
FL/cab  
(5)

DEC 11 1968

b6  
b7C

Approved: [signature] 36 DEC 20 1968  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ Per \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 04-06-2006 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/DCG/EHL

FBI

Date: 12/3/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED  
(Priority)

To: DIRECTOR, FBI  
From: SAC, DENVER (157-254)  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP; POSSIBLE UFAC

Re Denver telcal to Bureau 12/2/68.

Re Denver telcal to San Francisco 12/2/68.

Re San Francisco teletype to Bureau and Denver  
12/2/68.



- 3 - Bureau (RM)  
2 - San Francisco (100-55520) (RM)  
2 - Denver  
(1 - 157-160 BPP)

JFM:mfm  
(7)

E. C. Bishop

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

88 DEC 9 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C  
b7D

b6  
b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT TAM/MLT/EHL

# Memorandum

TO : Mr. DeLoach

DATE: December 11, 1968

FROM : A. Rosen

SUBJECT: HIJACKING OF TWA  
FLIGHT 496  
KANSAS CITY TO MIAMI  
DECEMBER 11, 1968  
CRIME ABOARD AIRCRAFT

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Rosen  
1 - Mr. Malley  
1 - Mr. Shroder  
1 - Mr. Kish  
1 - Mr. Bishop  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Felt  
1 - Mr. Gale

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

As you will recall, captioned plane carrying 32 passengers and seven crewmen en route from Kansas City to Miami was hijacked earlier today by a lone armed gunman who entered the cockpit and demanded to be taken to Cuba. The hijacking took place shortly after the flight left Nashville, Tennessee, approximately ten miles west of Chattanooga.

Our Miami Office advised that a reporter with the Associated Press in Miami informed that the Associated Press representative in Havana, Cuba, indicated that a young Negro couple departed the hijacked plane after it arrived in Havana. Associated Press inquired if the FBI had any information that the person responsible for the hijacking could possibly be Eldridge Cleaver. Cleaver is the Minister of Information for the Black Panther Party in the United States.

Our Miami Office advised Associated Press that we have no information as to who is responsible for hijacking the plane and we are conducting investigation to ascertain who is responsible.

Federal process was issued on December 10, 1968, in San Francisco for Cleaver charging violation of the Unlawful Flight to Avoid Confinement - Assault with Intent to Commit Murder Statute. An intensive fugitive investigation is currently being conducted throughout the United States endeavoring to apprehend Cleaver.

## ACTION:

It is anticipated that the crew will return to Miami later today at which time photographs of Cleaver and his wife will be promptly exhibited to them. You will be advised of developments as they occur.

WAK:emf  
(10)

53 DEC 27 1968

NOT RECORDED  
102 DEC 18 1968

b6  
b7c

ORIGINAL FILED IN 144-563-8

AAG

~~SECRET~~

DATE: 05-02-2006

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (detached)

CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL

12/12/68

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3 (6) CODE

05-02-2031

CABLEGRAM

URGENT

*telephonically  
cleared by  
MY.*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

b6  
b7C

TO LEGAT LONDON

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-447251)

REC 49

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, FUGITIVE, RM - BPP;

UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

RE LEGAT LONDON LETTER OCTOBER TEN, LAST, AND BULET  
TO LEGAT NOVEMBER SIX, LAST.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JRF:egg  
(40)

VIA TELETYPE

DEC 12 1968

ENCIPHERED

~~SECRET~~

*Curt*

*GH*

61 DEC 23 1968 TELETYPE UNIT

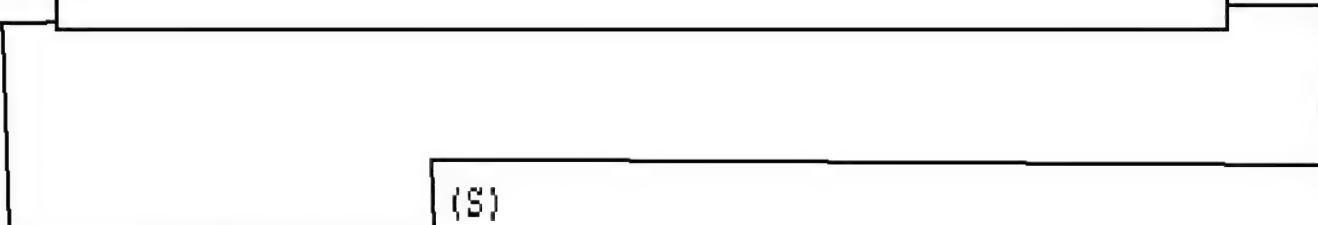
~~SECRET~~

CABLEGRAM TO LONDON  
RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

b6  
b7C  
b7D



b1



(S)

ABOVE FOR INFORMATION OF LEGAT.

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATION SECTION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT  
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE

FBI WASH DC

TELETYPE

FBI SAN FRAN

AAG

6:00PM PST 12/11/68 URGENT JEY

DATE: 05-02-2006

TO: DIRECTOR (100-447251)

CLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/D

FROM: SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 3.3 (6)  
05-02-2031

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE. RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT  
WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER. 00: SF.

RELET FROM LEGAT, LONDON, TO BUREAU DATED OCTOBER TEN,  
LAST, BULET TO LEGAT, LONDON, DATED NOVEMBER SIX, LAST, AND  
SAN FRANCISCO TEL TO BUREAU, DECEMBER TWO, LAST.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

7251-187

END PAGE ONE

XEROX  
DEC 11 1968

*Call to London*  
*12/12/68*  
*JRF:egm*  
*Dir*

~~SECRET~~

b6  
b7C

~~SECRET~~

PAGE TWO

SF 100-55520

b6  
b7C  
b7D

b1

(S)

BUREAU MAY WISH TO FURNISH ABOVE TO LEGAT, LONDON.

ELDRIDGE CLEAVER IS SUBJECT OF FEDERAL UFAC WARRANT ISSUED  
SAN FRANCISCO, DECEMBER TEN, LAST.

BOTH CLEAVERS ARE ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

END

BGM

FBI WASH DC

~~SECRET~~

CC MR. SULLIVAN



12-14-68  
P  
FBI NEW YORK

WA -09-

10-09 PM URGENT 12-14-68 RDB

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251). ATLANTA AND SAN FRANCISCO  
(100-55520) (PLAINTEXT)

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION.

SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON

FROM NEW YORK (100-161321) 2P

✓ *no working*  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE - UFAC - ASSAULT

WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER. (OO - SAN FRANCISCO)

RENYTELS THIS DATE AND NEW YORK TELEPHONE CALLS  
TO BUREAU AND ATLANTA.

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

b6  
b7C

REC-15

100-447251-188

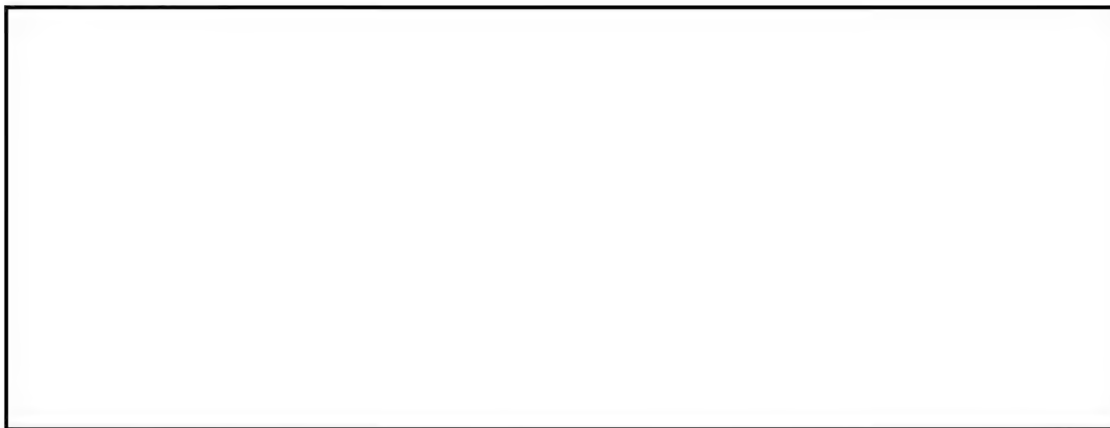
DEC 15 1968

END PAGE ONE *TELETYPED TO:* ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

59 DEC 20 1968 F

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

PAGE TWO



b6  
b7C

CONSIDER SUBJECT AND WIFE ARMED AND DANGEROUS. ✓

END

H

FJB

FBI WASH DC

R RELAY

DEC 1 1971 1500

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

DEC 13 1968  
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

WA...20

FBI NEW YORK

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

8-40 PM URGENT 12-13-68 WPK

TO DIRECTOR, ATLANTA, AND SAN FRANCISCO 88-12329 (PLAINTEXT)

SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON  
ATT. DOMES. INTELL.

FROM NEW YORK 100-161321 1P

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA. ELDRIDGE CLEAVER-FUGITIVE, RM  
BPP, UFAC-ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, OO-SF.

RESFTEL TO BUREAU DECEMBER THIRTEENTH,  
SIXTY EIGHT. REPRESENTATIVE, BUREAU OF SPECIAL SERVICES,  
NYCPD, ADVISED DECEMBER THIRTEENTH THAT THEIR OFFICE HAS  
NO INFORMATION REFLECTING ANY TRAVEL ON THE PART OF ADAM  
CLAYTON POWELL TO COLUMBUS, GEORGIA. REVIEW OF NYO FILES  
LIKEWISE DEVELOPS NO INFORMATION REGARDING ADAM CLAYTON  
POWELL BEING RECENTLY IN COLUMBUS, GEORGIA.

END

WA....

CORR. PLS INSERT ATT. DID IN THE 10 DEC 16 1968

WA...JDR R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

TELETYPE TO

DEC 13 1968

50 DEC 21 1968  
FBI SF

cc-Mr. Sullivan

2/-2/72/?,/6,/6&&&&

WA ----14----

FBI NEW YORK

7:15 PM URGENT 12-12-68 AWS

TO DIRECTOR 100-447251, SAN FRANCISCO 100-155520 AND

WASHINGTON FIELD OFFICE (CODE)

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

SAN FRANCISCO AND WFO VIA WASHINGTON

FROM NEW YORK 100-161321

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER-FUGITIVE, RM-BPP, UFAC,

ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER. 00: SF.

RENY AIRTEL DEC. ELEVEN LAST.

THE FOLLOWING IS A SUMMARY OF INVESTIGATION CONDUCTED  
THIS DATE:

SUBJECT'S PHOTOGRAPH AND BACKGROUND DATA DISTRIBUTED  
TO PERSONNEL OF ALL APPROPRIATE AIRLINES, JFK AIRPORT, NYC.



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b7C



(PROTECT)



b6  
b7C  
b7D

68

END PAGE ONE  
TWO COPIES WFO

TELETYPED TO:

SF

XEROX

DEC 12 1968

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

PAGE THREE

OTHER CRIMINAL AND RACIAL INFORMANTS OF THE NYO  
UNABLE TO FURNISH ANY DATA RE WHEREABOUTS OF SUBJECT.

INQUIRY AT NATIONAL EDUCATIONS TV (NET), NYC,  
INDICATES KATHLEEN CLEAVER, AS A MEMBER OF PANEL CONSISTING  
OF SIX CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERS, TAPED A TWO HOUR PANEL DISCUSSION  
FOR BLACK JOURNAL, A MONTHLY NEGRO NEWS AND DISCUSSION PROGRAM,  
AT NBC STUDIOS, NYC, ON DECEMBER NINE, LAST. PROGRAM TO BE  
AIRED DECEMBER THREE ZERO, NEXT, BETWEEN NINE AND TEN PM  
EST. TAPE OF DISCUSSION NOT AVAILABLE BUT ACCORDING TO WITNESS  
WHO VIEWED ENTIRE DISCUSSION, SUBJECT NOT DISCUSSED AND KATHLEEN  
CLEAVER DIRECTED HER REMARKS TO HER APPRAISAL OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS  
MOVEMENT IN ONE NINE SIX EIGHT AND THE PROGNOSIS FOR ONE NINE  
SIX NINE.

BLACK PANTHER LEADERS AND ACTIVISTS INTERVIEWED THIS  
DATE CONTINUE TO REMAIN UNRECEPTIVE TO INQUIRIES AND NO  
PERTINENT DATA RE SUBJECT DEVELOPED.

END PAGE THREE

FBI WASH DC

COMMUNICATION SECTION

DEC 13 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TELETYPE

FBI MOBILE

8-000XX PM IMMEDIATE 12-13-68 JEB

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251) AND DETROIT

FROM MOBILE (157-2942)

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/DCG/EHL  
ON 05-02-2006

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN  
OTHERWISE.

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, FUGITIVE, RM DASH

BPP, UFAC DASH ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, OO:

SAN FRANCISCO.

[REDACTED] (RELIABLE) ADVISED INSTANT DATE THAT

THE ABOVE INFORMATION IS SET OUT FOR DETROIT.

DETROIT WILL VERIFY IF THERE IS [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] AND THEREAFTER CONDUCT LOGICAL INVESTIGATION

TO LOCATE AND APPREHEND CAPTIONED SUBJECT.

AM COPY FURNISHED SF.

REC-48

END

BGM

FBI WASH DC

XEROX

61 DEC 19 1968

CLASSIFIED AND  
EXTENDED BY SP-2-10/10/82  
REASON FOR EXTENSION  
FCIM, II, 1-2.4.2  
DATE OF REVIEW FOR  
DECLASSIFICATION 12-13-88  
5-17-77

10 DEC 16 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATION SECTION

DEC 14 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC

FBI DETROIT

2:49 PM URGENT 12/14/68 PAK

TO: DIRECTOR (100-447251) AND MOBILE (L57-2942)

FROM: DETROIT (L57-2699)

af LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, FUGITIVE, RM DASH BPP, UFAC  
DASH ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, OO: SAN FRANCISCO

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C

SOURCE ONE (RELIABLE) ADVISED [Redacted]

[Redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

SOURCE FURTHER ADVISED CLEAVER HAS NOT BEEN SEEN [Redacted]

[Redacted] IN THE DETROIT AREA.

END PAGE OEN

REC-18

100-447251-192

10 DEC 16 1968

EX 106

XEROX

DEC 14 1968

54 DEC 20 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 04-06-2006 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/DCG/EHL

*[Handwritten signature]*



DE 157-2699

PAGE TWO

OTHER SOURCES (RELIABLE) ADVISED NO KNOWLEDGE OF  
CLEAVER'S PRESENCE IN THE DETROIT AREA.

CANADIAN AUTHORITIES, BORDER PATROL, MICHIGAN STATE POLICE,  
DETROIT POLICE ALERTED.

ADMINISTRATIVE: RE MOBILE TEL TO DETROIT DECEMBER  
THIRTEEN LAST. SOURCE ONE IS [REDACTED]

b2  
b7D

[REDACTED].  
INVESTIGATION CONTINUING AT DETROIT.

AM COPY FURNISHED SAN FRANCISCO.

EXTREMELY ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

END

GMA

FBI WASH DC

P

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

VIA TELETYPE  
DEC 12 1968  
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

WA -----9-----

FBI NEW YORK

6:05 PM URGENT 12-12-68 AWS

TO DIRECTOR 100-447251 , ALBUQUERQUE AND SAN FRANCISCO (CODE)

SF VIA WASH  
ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-161321

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

LEROI ELDRIDGE CLEAVER-FUGITIVE-RM. - BPP- UFAC-ASSAULT  
TO COMMIT MURDER; 00: SF.

RE AQ AIRTEL TO NEW YORK, DECEMBER FIVE, LAST;  
SFAIRTEL TO DIRECTOR, DECEMBER TEN, LAST.

FOR INFO OF ALBUQUERQUE DIVISION, AUTHORIZED COMPLAINT  
FILED DECEMBER TEN, LAST, BY SA [REDACTED] BEFORE  
USC RICHARD S. GOLDSMITH, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA, CHARGING  
SUBJECT WITH VIOLATION OF TITLE EIGHTEEN, SECTION ONE ZERO SEVEN  
THREE, UNITED STATES CODE, (UFAC-PAROLE VIOLATION,  
ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, ASSAULT WITH DEADLY  
WEAPON) AND ISSUED BOND RECOMMENDED ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND  
DOLLARS SECURITY OR CASH.

b6  
b7C

INVESTIGATION AT NYO REFLECTS THAT DURING ~~NOV~~ DEC 1968

NINE SIX EIGHT, [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

END PAGE ONE  
51 DEC 20 1968  
TELETYPED TO:  
SF

WA...06

FBI NEW YORK

4-35 PM MURGENT 12-12-68 JLW

TO DIRECTOR 100-447251 AND SAN FRANCISCO 100-55520 (CODE)

ATT. DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
FROM NEW YORK 100-161321 2P DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

LEROEY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUG- RACIAL MATTERS - BPP -  
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER; OO -  
SAN FRANCISCO

RE NEW YORK TEL THIS DATE.

ON DECEMBER TWELVE, INSTANT, [REDACTED] (PROTECT),

[REDACTED] ADVISED

THAT INFO RECEIVED THIS DATE THAT [REDACTED]

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

END PAGE ONE

TELETYPE TO:  
54 DEC 20 1968

EX 106

b6  
b7C  
b7D

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

RA Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/DATE: December 12, 1968

Tolson ☒  
DeLoach ☒  
Mohr ☐  
Bishop ☐  
Casper ☐  
Callahan ☐  
Conrad ☐  
Felt ☒  
Gale ☒  
Rosen ☐  
Sullivan ☐  
Tavel ☐  
Trotter ☐  
Tele. Room ☐  
Holmes ☐  
Gandy ☐

TO : Mr. DeLoach

FROM : J. H. Gale

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, also known as  
FUGITIVE  
RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY;  
UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID CONFINEMENT - ASSAULT  
WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER  
OFFICE OF ORIGIN: SAN FRANCISCO

United States Attorney Cecil Poole, San Francisco,  
who was at the Department today, dropped by my office with  
regard to the Cleaver case. Mr. Poole met with  
Inspector [redacted] Special Investi-  
gative Division: Alfred B. Eddy, Section Chief, Fugitive Section;  
and [redacted] Unlawful Flight Unit.

Mr. Poole manifested a most cooperative attitude.  
He stated he wanted to fill us in on the events which preceded  
his authorization of the unlawful flight warrant for Cleaver  
which was issued on December 10, 1968. Mr. Poole confirmed the  
information previously furnished by our San Francisco Office.  
He pointed out that the local authorities had not conducted  
sufficient investigation initially to establish the possibility  
of Cleaver's flight from the State of California. Mr. Poole  
stated that he was therefore reluctant to authorize the  
unlawful flight warrant until sufficient evidence of interstate  
flight had been established thus assuring that the Federal  
warrant would be valid. Mr. Poole was most commendatory in his  
remarks concerning our San Francisco Office stating he had  
always received the fullest cooperation from all our personnel.  
He stated he had the utmost respect for the FBI, having always  
been impressed with the quality of its investigations.

ACTION:

EX-100  
The foregoing is submitted for information.

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Gale
- 1 - Mr. Eddy
- 1 - Mr. [redacted]

b6  
b7C

ABE:egm  
(5)

53 DEC 19 1968

REC 57 100-447251-196

4 DEC 17 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 ABQ  
TAM/MLT/EHL

Date: 12/12/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)  
FROM: SAC, WFO (157-2026)(88-7108) (P)

LERROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
FUGITIVE  
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER;  
RM - BPP  
(OO:SF)

ReButel call to WFO 12/12/68 to check passport  
records currently re subject.

[redacted] Security Branch,  
Legal Division, Passport Office, Department of State,  
advised SA [redacted] on 12/12/68 that a check had  
been made of the passport files about 11/21/68 re subject  
with negative results, at which time the Passport Office put  
in a stop of its own in the Lookout File. He advised that  
a recheck was made on 12/12/68 but no record could be located.  
[redacted] also sent a teletype to the Passport Agencies  
at Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles, Miami, New Orleans, New  
York, Philadelphia, San Francisco and Seattle on 12/12/68  
for a special check of the recently issued passports there  
and each agency replied by teletype that no record of subject  
could be located.

REC 27

- 3 - Bureau  
2 - San Francisco (100-55520) (AM) (RM)  
2 - WFO

12 DEC 17 1968

KJH:tab  
(7)

Approved: 1968

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

SAC, San Francisco (100-55520)

12/16/68

Director, FBI (100-447251) - 198

1 - Mr.

b6  
b7c

5T  
**LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER**  
**RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY**

Reurairtel 11/29/68.

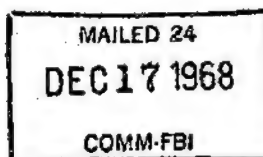
If not already done, attempt to obtain a tape recording of subject's speech at Stanford University on 10/1/68 and furnish same to Bureau. If you have the original of the tape which has evidentiary value, that copy should be retained by you. A copy of the tape, which has no evidentiary value, should be furnished to the Bureau.

JCM:ra  
(4)

NOTE:

Captioned individual spoke at Stanford University on 10/1/68. By reairtel San Francisco furnished a verbatim transcript of his speech in connection with continuing efforts to obtain recordings of recognized black extremists, San Francisco is being instructed to furnish a tape recording of subject's speech to the Bureau.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL



Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

530 DEC 20 1968  
MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

gd

Jan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

FBI

Date: 11/29/68

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)  
  
FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)  
  
SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM-BPP

b6  
b7C

Re San Francisco airtel and LHM dated 11/4/68 concerning Subject's appearance and speech delivered at Stanford University, Palo Alto, California, on 10/1/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight (8) copies of an LHM containing a transcript of Subject's speech at Stanford suitable for dissemination.

Source utilized is [redacted] who recorded the speech as it was broadcast over Stanford University radio station KZSU. [redacted] requested his identity be kept confidential.

PAID ALTO, CALIF

Due to fact speech contained obscenities and was broadcast uncensored, a 145 case was opened. The U.S. Attorney's Office has declined prosecution on the matter.

Because of obscene statements contained in the speech which comprises the entire LHM, it is being considered obscene and is being transmitted in a sealed envelope so marked.

ENC. PERIOD FILE  
ENCLOSURE

3 - Bureau (Encl. 8) (RM)  
2 - San Francisco  
FL:cb  
(5)

1 encl  
906 980

- 1 encl.  
R-804

b6  
b7C

16 DEC 17 1968

C. C. - Bishop

AGENCY: ACSI, [redacted], SEC. SERV.  
DEPT: [redacted]

HOW FORW: [redacted]

DATE FORW: [redacted]

BY: [redacted]

Sent

Approved: [redacted]

Special Agent in Charge

M

Per

let to SAC, SF  
12/16/68

102 (INFO)  
100-447251-198

[redacted]

5-30



SAC, San Francisco (100-55520)

12/16/68

REC-47  
Director, FBI (100-447251) - 199

1 - Mr.

b6  
b7C

54-102  
**LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER**  
**RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY**

Reurairtel 11/25/68.

If you have not already done so, a copy of the tape which contains the speech subject delivered at San Francisco State College on 10/9/68 should be furnished to the Bureau. If you have the original of the tape which has evidentiary value, that copy should be retained by you. A copy of the tape, which has no evidentiary value, should be furnished to the Bureau.

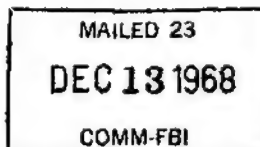
JCH:ra  
(4)

NOTE:

Cleaver spoke at San Francisco State College on 10/9/68. By reairtel San Francisco advised that a transcript of the speech was being set forth in letterhead memorandum form but did not indicate that a copy of the tape itself was being furnished to the Bureau. San Francisco is, therefore, being instructed to furnish a copy to the Bureau if they have not already done so.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



53 DEC 20 1968

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

FBI

DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC

Date: 11/25/68

Transmit the following in

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL - REGISTERED

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520) - P

RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka  
RM - BPP

Re San Francisco airtel and LHM, 11/4/68, concerning Subject's appearance and speech delivered at San Francisco State College on 10/9/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eight (8) copies of LHM suitable for dissemination.

On 11/6/68, [redacted] San Francisco State College, San Francisco, advised that unbeknownst to the President's office, the Poetry Center at San Francisco State had recorded the Subject's speech there on 10/9/68. [redacted] provided a copy of the tape and requested that his identity be protected. A transcript has been prepared and is the entire content of the enclosed LHM. The entire speech is peppered with obscenities, therefore the LHM is being considered obscene and is transmitted in a sealed envelope so marked.

ENCLOSURE

- 3 - Bureau (Enc. 8) (AM-RM)  
1 - San Francisco

FL/jr  
(4)

AGENCY: ACSI, [redacted] SEC. SERV.,  
DEPT: [redacted] IDIU

22 NOV 22 1968

b6  
b7C

HOW FORN:

DATE FORN:

BY: RANH/mo

Approved:

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

RACIAL INT. SECT

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C

let to SAC SF  
12/16/68

FBI

Date: 12/13/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-44725)  
FROM : SAC SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) (P)  
SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE  
RM - BPP;  
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO  
COMMIT MURDER  
(OO: SF)

DAILY SUMMARY

Remyairtel 12/12/68.

[redacted] Palo Alto, Calif.,  
advised on 12/13/68 that [redacted]

[redacted] on the pending trial of subject resulting from his  
arrest, Oakland, Calif., 4/6/68. [redacted]

[redacted]

On [redacted] advised [redacted]  
[redacted]  
[redacted] Neither mentioned CLEAVER or  
whereabouts.

- 3 - Bureau
- 2 - New York (100-161321) REC-1
- 3 - San Francisco
- (1 - 100-55520)

RCD:ab  
(8)

C. C. Bishop  
CC - SULLIVAN

EX-113

4 DEC 17 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 05-02-2006 BY 60309 AUC

TAM/DCG/EHL

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

56 DEC 26 1968

Special Agent in Charge

SF 88-12329  
RCD:ab

On [redacted] a source of the Oakland, Calif., PD,  
considered reliable, advised Buagent that [redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

*Handwritten:*  
b6  
b7C  
b7D  
AT & Wyo  
negotiate

LEADS

NEW YORK DIVISION

At New York, N.Y.

Will interview [redacted], re  
any knowledge he may have of CLEAVER's background, associates,  
and whereabouts.

SAN FRANCISCO DIVISION

b6  
b7C

At San Francisco and Atherton, Calif.

Will contact other individuals responsible for  
guaranteeing bail and [redacted]

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-10-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

## INFORMATIVE NOTE

Date 12/9/68

Leroy Eldridge Cleaver is Black Panther Party (BPP) leader presently being sought on local charges and the attached relates to additional statements of violence issued by BPP members along with allegation that revolution would start when Cleaver comes out of hiding.

San Francisco instructed to furnish same to appropriate local police and intelligence authorities. At Seat of Government, this to be furnished interested Divisions of Department, Secret Service, and military.

JFM:chs

ga  
D  
WCS/m

VIA TELETYPE

DEC 6 1968

ENCIPHERED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 05-02-2006 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/DCG/EHL

WASHINGTON 03 URGENT

512TO DIRECTOR, FBI (100-44725) AND SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

FROM SACRAMENTO (157-291) 1P

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. DeLoach ✓  
Mr. Mohr ✓  
Mr. Bishop ✓  
Mr. Casper ✓  
Mr. Callahan ✓  
Mr. Conrad ✓  
Mr. Felt ✓  
Mr. Gale ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Sullivan ✓  
Mr. Tavel ✓  
Mr. Trotter ✓  
Tel. Room ✓  
Miss Holmes ✓  
Miss Gandy ✓

L O RACIAL MATTER RACIAL MATTERS  
LEROY EDWARDS CLEAVER, RM, BLACK PANTHER PARTY, RM.

ON THIS DATE [REDACTED] ADVISED

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

LAST NAME UNKNOWN

(LNU) FROM [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

SAN FRANCISCO REQUESTED TO DISSEMINATE ABOVE TO POLICE  
DEPARTMENTS, U. S. ATTORNEY, SECRET SERVICE AND INTELLIGENCE  
AGENCIES.

MEMO  
LHM FOWLOWS.

EX-115

REC-1

100-447251

END.

WLM

FBI WASH WASH DC

22 DEC 11 1968

TELETYPED TO:

FTB

b6  
b7C

RACIAL INT. SECT.

61 DEC 27 1968

ROOM 836 9&D

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATION SECTION

DEC 13 1968

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC

FBI LITTLE R

10:35AM URGENT 12-13-68 DRM

TO: DIRECTOR (100-447251)

FROM: LITTLE ROCK (157-1322) 1P

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, JR., -  
FUGITIVE, RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER,  
OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

REBUTEL TO LITTLE ROCK, DEC. TWELVE, SIXTY EIGHT.

BUREAU OF VITAL STATISTICS, LITTLE ROCK, ARK., REFLECTS  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER BORN LITTLE ROCK, ARK., AUG. THIRTY ONE,  
NINETEEN THIRTY FIVE, TO LEROY CLEAVER AND THELMA ROBINSON  
(MAIDEN NAME OF MOTHER).

AIRMAIL COPY TO SAN FRANCISCO.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

END

MKA

FBI WASH DC

REC-64 100-447251-202

15 DEC 17 1968

CC MR. SULLIVAN

61 DEC 24 1968



FBI

Date: December 12, 1968

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPPALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 05-02-2006 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/DCG/EHL

Re Bureau airtel, dated 12/10/68.

San Francisco is cognizant the following sources  
were present at the National Retreat Week of the BPP  
beginning 11/16/68:

b2  
b7D

Referral/Direct

None of the above sources furnished information  
which would support the \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ originating with the Seattle field Office \_\_\_\_\_

In addition, Newark sources \_\_\_\_\_ was also  
present at the BPP National Retreat Week. San Francisco  
Office has not received any reports from this source and  
is unable at this time to state whether or not this  
information could be substantiated by Newark Source. For  
information of Newark, the above mentioned \_\_\_\_\_

b2  
b7D

C. C. Bishop  
③ - Bureau (RM)  
2 - Newark  
2 - San Francisco  
TC/sfm  
(7)

REC-65

18 DEC 14 1968

b6  
b7C

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Special Agent in Charge

DEC 27 1968

RACIAL

SF 100-55520

TC/fm

Referral/Direct

[REDACTED]

b2  
b7D

Newark will determine through a review or contact with [REDACTED] whether or not he can substantiate the above statement.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

1 - Mr. Gale

1 - Mr.  b6  
b7c

Mechanical Section

December 16, 1968

J. Edgar Hoover - Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation

**LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, ALSO KNOWN AS - FUGITIVE, WANTED FLYER 447;  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY;  
UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID CONFINEMENT - ASSAULT WITH INTENT  
TO COMMIT MURDER**

Enclosed are the following which are to be used in the expeditious preparation of an  
☒ Identification Order ☐ Check Circular for subject ~~Leroy Eldridge Cleaver~~

1. A draft of an ☒ Identification Order ☐ Check Circular.
2. Fingerprint jacket FBI # 214 830 B. (sent separately)
3. A memorandum from the Identification Division designating the fingerprints to be used. (sent separately)
4. A draft of a letter to all Special Agents in Charge to be used in forwarding smooth finished copies of the photographs of this subject.

It is requested that a photoprint be prepared and submitted to the Identification Division with this memorandum and the draft so that the following action may be taken:

1. Name and aliases to be checked.
2. Sequence of fingerprints examined and verified and,
3. Fingerprint classification verified to make certain that they have been properly reproduced on the photoprint.

Upon completion of the above steps the Identification Division is to forward this material to the Fugitive Supervisor for approval, who will in turn route it to the Mechanical Section for printing.

The Mechanical Section should then:

MAILED 3

DEC 16 1968

COMM-FBI

1. Print this ☒ Identification Order ☐ Check Circular and forward the proper number of copies thereof to the various Bureau Divisions and other individuals and organizations on the Bureau's Identification Order Mailing List.

2. Make 275 copies of the designated photograph(s) of this fugitive, containing his name and FBI number, five copies of which should be furnished to each Division by means of the enclosed draft of a form letter to all Special Agents in Charge. Surplus photographs should be forwarded to the Fugitive Desk. **NOT RECORDED**  
100-447251-  
DEC 16 1968

3. When a number has been assigned for this ☒ Identification Order ☐ Check Circular it should be placed in the caption of the letter that is to go to all Special Agents in Charge. The letter and its enclosures should be transmitted to the Field with the shipment of ☒ Identification Orders ☐ Check Circulars.

4. When the printing has been completed and prior to the distribution thereof, ascertain from the Fugitive Desk if the apprehension of this subject is still desired.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

51 DEC 23 1968

1 - Crime Records Division - Enc

Enc. (2)

56 DEC 18 1968

**LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER**

Name:

ALIASES: (see Wanted Flyer 447)

Fingerprint Classification:

(see Wanted Flyer 447)

FBI Number:

(see Wanted Flyer 447)

Offense:

(see Wanted Flyer 447)

Description:

(see Wanted Flyer 447)

**OCCUPATIONS:** author, clerk, cook, laborer, lithographer,  
magazine editor, reporter, writer

(see Wanted Flyer 447)

Photographs:

Criminal Record:

(see Wanted Flyer 447)

Caution:

(see Wanted Flyer 447)

XX  
Method of Operation (for Check Circular only) - see page 2:

Process:

(see Wanted Flyer 447)

IF YOU HAVE INFORMATION CONCERNING THIS PERSON, PLEASE CONTACT YOUR LOCAL FBI OFFICE. PHONE NUMBER LISTED BELOW. OTHER OFFICES LISTED ON BACK.

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR  
Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D. C. 20535

F B I

Date: 12/12/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447250)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER-  
FUGITIVE  
RM-BPP  
UFAC, ASSAULT WITH INTENT  
TO COMMIT MURDER  
OO: San Francisco

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 04-06-2006 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/DCG/EHL

DAILY SUMMARY

Re myairtel 12/11/68.

Miami advises that crew of TWA Flight 496, which was hijacked 12/11/68, interviewed. Three stewardesses advised Subject's photograph resembles hijacking Unsub male, however, Flight Engineer who closely observed Unsub male advised he is definitely not CLEAVER. Airliner Captain states CLEAVER's photograph has faint resemblance. One passenger obtained photographs of Unsub male hijacker. Film forwarded to Laboratory. Plane processed for latent prints.

TWA, San Francisco, advises Flight 72 manifest for nights of 12/9-10 discloses no passengers by the name of FNU [redacted] boarded flight at San Francisco. TWA, Los Angeles has determined Unsub hijackers boarded TWA flight 72 at Los Angeles, 12/10/68.

Stop placed on "Ramparts" magazine account at Commonwealth National Bank, 445 Montgomery, San Francisco, on

3 - Bureau  
2 - San Francisco  
RCD/rlg  
(5)  
*cc - Tickle*  
C. C. - Bishop

REC-64

100-447251-204  
18 DEC 14 1968EX-113  
FBIApproved: *[Signature]*

(Special Agent in Charge)

Sent

M

Per

61 DEC 30 1968

b6  
b7Cb6  
b7C

SF 88-12329  
RCD/rlg

12/12/68, for any disbursements to Subject, and any disbursements from this account in excess of \$5,000.00 to possible intermediary.

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

[redacted] advised that [redacted]  
[redacted]

Leads set out to interview relatives and associates of Subject. New York requested by tel this date to interview [redacted]

b6  
b7C

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: 12/12/68

SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-2323)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 04-06-2006 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/DOG/EHL

SUBJECT:

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

Re Los Angeles teletype to Bureau, dated 11/26/68,  
and Los Angeles teletypes to Bureau, dated 11/27/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are 11 copies of a Letterhead  
Memorandum captioned as above suitable for dissemination.  
Two copies enclosed for San Francisco.

Enclosed Memorandum is being disseminated locally  
to military agencies and Secret Service.

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

Source referred to in enclosed Letterhead Memorandum  
is [redacted] The Special Agents who observed the pickets  
at the California Adult Authority were SAS [redacted]  
and [redacted]

The attached memorandum is being classified  
confidential inasmuch as data set forth from sources utilized  
could result in identification of sources of continuing  
value and compromise effectiveness thereof.

AGENCY: ACSI, [redacted], SEC. SERV.,

DEPT: ISD, [redacted] I DIA

HOW FORW: R/S

DATE FORW: 12/27/68

BY: RMR/ [redacted]

REC 45

b6  
b7C

- 2 - Bureau (Encl. 11) (RM)  
2 - San Francisco (100-55520) (Encl. 2) (RM)  
3 - Los Angeles  
(1 - 157-2091)  
(1 - 157-1618)

RHR/gk

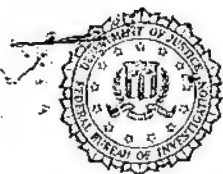
53 DEC 31 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

17 DEC 17 1968

100-447251-205





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Los Angeles, California

December 12, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/EHL  
ON 12-09-2005

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

On November 26, 1968, Special Agents of the Los Angeles Division of the Federal Bureau of Investigation observed a picket line at the California Adult Authority (CAA) Office at 107 South Broadway, Los Angeles, California. About twelve persons were involved including five Negroes. A leaflet was distributed which stated as follows:

"Round The Clock Vigil And Picket Line To Protest The Jailing Of Eldridge Cleaver starting Tuesday 12 noon until...? At the offices of the California Adult Authority, 107 South Broadway.

It has to be stressed that the uncontradicted evidence presented to this court indicated that the petitioner has been a model parolee. The peril to his parole status stemmed from no failure of personal rehabilitation, but from his undue eloquence in pursuing political goals, goals which were offensive to many of his contemporaries. Not only was there absence of cause for the cancellation of parole, it was the product of a type of pressure unbecoming, to say the least, to the law enforcement paraphernalia of this State.

Judge Sherwin, Solano County

Declaring that Cleaver was being held as a 'political prisoner', Judge Sherwin ordered the California Adult Authority to release him.

This ruling was overturned by the State Court of Appeals at the behest of the Adult Authority. The Authority, under pressure from Governor Ronald Reagan, is determined to silence Cleaver by locking him up.

Eldridge Cleaver has committed no crime.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GROUP 1  
Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

100-44725-205  
ENCLOSURE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

If he is imprisoned, this will be the crime -- A crime not only against Cleaver, but against political liberty and intellectual freedom. It will therefore be a crime committed against all of us.

This is the time for all who profess to stand for justice, for freedom, for human solidarity, to stand up and be counted.

Join Us Join Us Join Us Join Us

Newton - Cleaver Defense Committee  
619 S. Bonnie Brae, L.A. 90057  
484 - 1422"

Leroy Eldridge Cleaver is Minister of Information for the Black Panther Party (BPP) (See Appendix) and is currently being sought by the California Adult Authority for Parole Violation.

The pickets carried placards which read, "First Huey then Eldridge then you", "After Eldridge who?", "Don't let the pigs murder Eldridge", and "If we don't defend the Panthers who will defend us?".

A source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised that the Newton - Cleaver Defense Committee sponsored pickets at the CAA on November 26 - 27, 1968, at 107 South Broadway, Los Angeles, California. Source advised that the picketing continued through the evening of November 26, 1968, and early morning hours of November 27, 1968. Source advised that the pickets worked in shifts and that six persons were present during the evening and early morning hours involved. Source advised that the picketing terminated at 2:30 p.m., on November 27, 1968, with nine persons participating. Source advised that no incidents were reported.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
Also Known As  
Black Panther Party for Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality", to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service", states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAPP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FBI

Date: 12/11/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL  
(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Mr. Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-44725) (105-165706)

FROM : SAC, SACRAMENTO (157-291) (P)  
(157-52)SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM;  
BPP-RMRe Sacramento teletype to Bureau and San Francisco,  
12/9/68.Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies and  
for Los Angeles and San Diego and San Francisco two copies  
of an LHM captioned as above.

Source utilized in LHM is [REDACTED]

b2  
b7DALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 05-02-2006 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/DCG/EHL

REC-24

100-44725-206

4 DEC 17 1968

ENCLOSURE

- ③ - Bureau (Encs. 8) (RM)  
 2 - Los Angeles (157-1618) (Encs. 2) (RM)  
 2 - San Diego (100-13978) (Encs. 2) (RM)  
 2 - San Francisco (100-55520) (Encs. 2) (RM)  
 (1-157-1204)  
 2 - Sacramento  
 GMS/mcm  
 (11)

C. C. Bishop

AGENCY: ACSI, [REDACTED], SEC. SERV.

DEPT: ISD, [REDACTED]

HOW FORM: [REDACTED]

DATE FORM: 12/14/68

BY: [REDACTED]

LHM P 143

b6  
b7C

Approved: [Signature]

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

56 DEC 26 1968 Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

December 11, 1968  
Sacramento, California

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER;  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Copies of this memorandum are being disseminated to Intelligence Agencies of the Army, Air Force, Navy and to the Secret Service and United States Attorney, Sacramento.

A characterization of the Black Panther Party (BPP) is appended hereto.

On December 9, 1968, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that [REDACTED]

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b7C  
b7D

Source advised that one [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

ENCLOSURE

100-447251-206

## APPENDIX

### BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby George Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

"Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

## APPENDIX

F B I

Date: 12/11/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-44725) (105-165706)  
FROM : SAC, SACRAMENTO (157-291)(P)  
(157-52)  
SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM;  
BPP-RM

Re Sacramento teletype to Bureau and San Francisco,  
12/9/68.

Enclosed for the Bureau are eight copies and  
for Los Angeles and San Diego and San Francisco two copies  
of an LHM captioned as above.

Source utilized in LHM is

b2  
b7D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 05-02-2006 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/DCG/EHL

③ - [REDACTED] (RM)  
2 - [REDACTED] -1618) (Encs.2) (RM)  
2 - [REDACTED] 3978)(Encs.2) (RM)  
2 - [REDACTED] 00-55520)(Encs.2) (RM)  
2 - [REDACTED]  
GMS/mcm  
(11)

CARBON COPY.

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

# Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (100-447251)

FROM : SAC, *CM* SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329)(P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka  
Eldridge Cleaver -  
FUGITIVE  
RM - BPP,  
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH  
INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER  
OO: SF

DATE: 12/11/68

*Following  
has posted  
1cc interesting narrative  
attached*

It is requested that an ☒ Identification Order ☐ Check Circular be issued for

## Complete the following:

1. Reasons why this action believed desirable:

Subject is a leader in the Black Panther Party. His activities and fugitive status have received a very large amount of publicity. Subject is armed and extremely dangerous.

2. Have all dispositions of arrests been obtained? If not, what action has been initiated to obtain dispositions?

Yes

3. Name and aliases (Subject's complete true or legal name should appear first, followed by all aliases in alphabetical order with any nicknames in alphabetical order after aliases):

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka  
ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

REC-6

100-447251-207  
6 DEC 16 1968

EX 106

b6  
b7C

4. FBI Number:

214 830B

5. Offense (Set out here only character of those offenses for which Federal process outstanding):

UFAC - Parole Violation (Assault With Intent To Commit Murder, Assault With Intent To Commit Rape, Assault With A Deadly Weapon).

Enc. (2) - Bureau (AM) (3)  
1 - San Francisco

RCD:bfr  
(3)

61 DEC 26 1968

EX-106

774 SUP.  
RACIAL INT. SECT.

6. Description

Age: 33

Date and place of birth and how verified (Verify through appropriate Bureau of Vital Statistics, wherever possible):

8/31/35, Little Rock, Arkansas, verified from Institution  
Records--

Height: 6' 2"  
Weight: 185 - 190 - 195 *Shut me.*  
Build: Medium  
Hair: Black  
Eyes: Brown  
Complexion: Medium Brown  
Race: Negro  
Nationality: American  
Occupation(s): Author, Lecturer, Cook, Lithographer

Scars and Marks: Shotgun wound scar, left foot;  
Pierce, left ear in which he wears a  
small round tack-type earring, gold  
in color.

*Pock scars on back - ID number*

Remarks (Include any characteristics or traits which would assist in identifying subject):

Last known to be wearing goatee and mustache.

7. Photograph(s), number enclosed and the year taken (Submit negative or original photograph, where available. Clearly label each. Indicate best likeness and basis):  
Submitted 12/11/68 by routing slip to   
Fugitive Section.

b6  
b7C

8. Caution statement (where applicable), including basis:  
Subject should be considered armed and extremely dangerous.  
He is a leader in the Black Panther Party, a militant Black  
Nationalist political organization whose leaders advocate the  
use of guns and guerrilla tactics in a violent revolutionary  
program.
9. Federal process: Subject under indictment  
on assault charges arising out of a gun battle between (cont pg 2a)
- A. All outstanding process must be accurately described. Set out (1) whether by  
complaint, indictment or information; (2) date and place filed or returned; (3) name  
in which process issued; (4) U. S. Code, Title and Section; (5) crime charged, and  
(6) date and place warrant issued. If more than one Federal process, set out on  
separate sheet to be attached above information on each additional process.
- (1) Complaint filed  
(2) 12/10/68, San Francisco, California (cont pg 2a)

(Continued from Page 2)

9.

members of the Black Panther Party and Oakland Police in April of 1968.

9.A.

- (3) Charging LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER with
- (4) Violation Title 18, Section 1073, U. S. Code
- (5) UFAC - PV (ADW, Assault With Intent To Commit Rape, Assault With Intent To Commit Murder
- (6) Warrant issued San Francisco, California, 12/10/68

B. Date Federal process last checked and found to be outstanding:

12/10/68

C. Date U. S. Attorney last contacted to insure he would remove and prosecute upon apprehension. If Unlawful Flight to Avoid Prosecution case, show instead most recent date local authorities indicated willingness to prosecute and date local process verified, and in all Unlawful Flight cases, most recent date local authorities indicated willingness to extradite:

12/10/68

10. Interesting Narrative (Set out brief narrative of information concerning the subject's background, including details of the crime for which he is being sought. In case of a check circular, set out, in addition, a specific paragraph under heading "Modus Operandi" which you are recommending for use on check circular.

Subject holds the position of Minister of Information in the Black Panther Party, a black extremist group which has its headquarters in Berkeley, California, and branches in a number of major cities in the U.S. The party was organized in 1966 in Oakland, California, as a militant Black Nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality" to unite militant black groups, to determine the destiny of black communities and to educate black people in African history. The political philosophy of this organization is taken from the writings of MAO TSE-TUNG of Communist China, and black extremist writers. Its leaders advocate the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in a violent revolutionary program to end alleged oppression. The primary target of the Black Panther Party's propaganda is the police. The Subject has been on parole since December, 1966 in California after serving 8 of a 2-14 year sentence for assault with a deadly weapon which arose out of attempted rape. His parole has been revoked effective November 27, 1968, and his whereabouts have been unknown since that time. Other charges included in this sentence were assault with intent to commit murder and rape. CLEAVER is also under indictment on assault charges

AP

arising out of a gun battle between members of the Black Panther Party and the Oakland Police in April of 1968.

CLEAVER's wife KATHLEEN holds the position of National Captain of Women in the Black Panther Party.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

12/12/68

PLAINTEXT

TELETYPE

URGENT

TO SAC LITTLE ROCK

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-447251)

*af* LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA, LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, JR.,  
FUGITIVE, RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT  
MURDER, OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

WANTED FLIER IN PREPARATION FOR SUBJECT.

LITTLE ROCK PROMPTLY VERIFY CLEAVER'S BIRTH DATA,  
AUGUST THIRTYONE, ONE NINE THREE FIVE, AT LITTLE ROCK, THROUGH  
APPROPRIATE BUREAU OF VITAL STATISTICS.

SUTEL.

AIRMAIL COPY TO SAN FRANCISCO.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

REC-64 100 - 447251-208

*as* San Francisco

19 DEC 13 1968

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATION SECTION

DEC 12 1968

5:55 PM. *mkr*  
TELETYPE

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*gm*  
JLB:mfm  
(4)

57 DEC 20 1968

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☒

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUFBI  
TAM/MLT/EHL

Date: 12/14/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE

(Priority)

TO: NEW YORK

FROM: NEW HAVEN (157-975)

REC 4

LEREOY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, FUGITIVE, RM- BPP UFAC -  
ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER OO: SF

REFERENCE BUTEL ALL SACS DEC TEN LAST.

ANONYMOUS SOURCE TELEPHONICALLY CONTACTED NEW HAVEN OFFICE  
TODAY AND ADVISED [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

REC 4

① Bureau (AM) (100-447251)  
1 San Francisco (AM) (100-55520)  
JGN:mmf  
(3)

15 DEC 12 1968

9-2-76. bja

b6  
b7C

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

1052261968

Special Agent in Charge



F B I

Date:

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)**PAGE TWO**b6  
b7C  
b7D**NEW YORK CONDUCT NECESSARY INVESTIGATION TO IDENTIFY**b6  
b7C**[REDACTED] LOOKING TOWARDS LOCATION AND APPREHENSION OF  
CLEAVER.****BUREAU AND SAN FRANCISCO SENT AIRMAIL COPIES.****ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS. ✓**Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

WA ----4----

FBI NEW YORK

5:14 PM URGENT 12-9-68 AWS

TO DIRECTOR, AND SAN FRANCISCO (CODE)

SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON  
FROM NEW YORK 100-161321 1P

VIA TELETYPE

DEC 9 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60409 AU  
TAM/MLT/EHL

LEROY ELDRIGE CLEAVER, RM, BLACK PANTHER PARTY.

00: SF.

RE BUTEL, TWELVE SEVE SIXTYEIGHT, AND SFTL,  
TWELVE EIGHT SIXTYEIGHT. NYO LOGICAL INFORMANTS AND SOURCES  
HAVE BEEN GIVEN SPECIFIC ASSIGNMENT RE OBTAINING INFORMATION  
CONCERNING SUBJECT'S WHEREABOUTS. INFORMANTS AND BSS, NYCRD

~~WE~~

WERE ADVISED THAT

INVESTIGATION CONTINUING NYO.

CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

END

WA...JDR R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

TELETYPE 3068

SF

CC-

MR. [REDACTED]  
ROOM 836 930  
XEROX ROSEN

REC 5

EX-103

100-447251-210  
6 DEC 12 1968

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C

I. O. 4239  
12-18-68

**INTERSTATE FLIGHT - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER**

**WANTED BY FBI**

**LEROY ELDREDGE CLEAVER**

FBI No. 214,830 B

24 L 13 U OOM 19

I 2 U 001

ALIASES: Eldridge Cleaver, Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Jr.



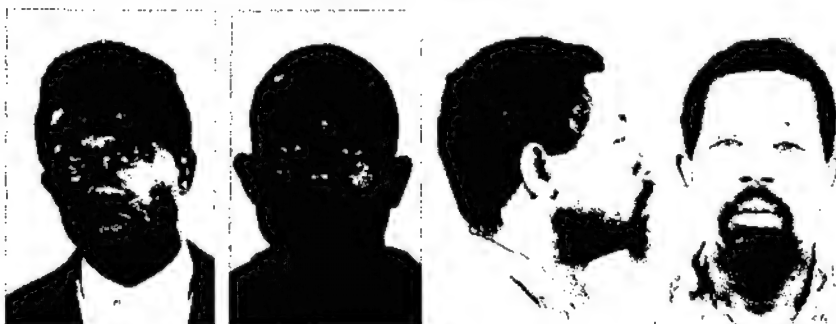
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-09-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

Photograph taken 1966

Photographs taken 1968

*Leroy Eldridge Cleaver*



**DESCRIPTION**

AGE: 33, born August 31, 1935, Little Rock, Arkansas  
HEIGHT: 6'2" EYES: brown  
WEIGHT: 185 to 195 pounds COMPLEXION: medium  
BUILD: medium RACE: Negro  
HAIR: black NATIONALITY: American  
OCCUPATIONS: author, clerk, cook, laborer, lithographer, magazine editor, reporter, writer  
SCARS AND MARKS: numerous pock scars on back  
REMARKS: sometimes wears small gold earring in pierced left ear lobe

**CRIMINAL RECORD**

Cleaver has been convicted of assault with intent to commit murder, assault with a deadly weapon and possession of narcotics.

**CAUTION**

CLEAVER ALLEGEDLY HAS ENGAGED POLICE OFFICERS IN GUN BATTLE IN THE PAST. CONSIDER ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

DEC 19 1968

A Federal warrant was issued on December 10, 1968, at San Francisco, California, charging Cleaver with unlawful interstate flight to avoid confinement after conviction for assault with intent to commit murder. (Title 18, U. S. Code, Section 1073).

**IF YOU HAVE INFORMATION CONCERNING THIS PERSON, PLEASE CONTACT YOUR LOCAL FBI OFFICE.  
TELEPHONE NUMBERS AND ADDRESSES OF ALL FBI OFFICES LISTED ON BACK.**

Identification Order 4239  
December 18, 1968

51 DEC 19 1968

00-SF  
100-447251

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C. 20535

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

(12-2-68)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
OFFICIAL BUSINESS

Located at:	Building	Telephone
ALBANY, New York 12207	502 U. S. P. O. & Ct. House	518 465-7551
ALBUQUERQUE, New Mexico 87101	4303 Federal Office Bldg.	505 CH 7-1555
ANCHORAGE, Alaska 99501	Room 204, Federal Building	272-6414
ATLANTA, Georgia 30303	275 Peachtree St., N. E.	404 JA 1-3900
BALTIMORE, Maryland 21202	408 U. S. Post Office Bldg.	301 LE 9-6700
BIRMINGHAM, Alabama 35203	Room 1400 - 2121 Bldg.	205 322-7711
BOSTON, Massachusetts 02203	John F. Kennedy Federal Office Building	617 RI 2-5533
BUFFALO, New York 14202	400 U. S. Court House Bldg.	716 856-7800
BUTTE, Montana 59701	400 Thornton Building	406 792-2304
CHARLOTTE, North Carolina 28202	1120 Jefferson Standard Life	704 333-4125
CHICAGO, Illinois 60604	Room 905, U. S. Court House & Federal Office Building	312 431-1333
CINCINNATI, Ohio 45202	415 U. S. Post Office & Court House Building	513 421-4310
CLEVELAND, Ohio 44199	3005 Federal Office Building	216 522-1400
COLUMBIA, South Carolina 29201	1529 Hampton Street	803 252-1911
DALLAS, Texas 75201	Room 200 - 1810 Commerce Street	214 RI 1-1851
DENVER, Colorado 80202	Room 18218, Federal Off. Bldg	303 222-5981
DETROIT, Michigan 48226	913 Federal Building & U. S. Court House	313 WO 5-2323
EL PASO, Texas 79901	202 U. S. Court House Bldg.	915 533-7451
HONOLULU, Hawaii 96813	206 Dillingham Building	537-9546
HOUSTON, Texas 77002	6015 Federal Building & U. S. Court House	713 CA 8-1414
INDIANAPOLIS, Indiana 46207	1221 North Pennsylvania St.	317 632-6415
JACKSON, Mississippi 39201	Room 800 - First Federal Savings Building	601 948-5000
JACKSONVILLE, Florida 32202	414 U. S. Court House & Post Office Building	904 355-1401
KANSAS CITY, Missouri 64106	707 U. S. Court House Building	816 BA 1-6100
KNOXVILLE, Tennessee 37902	617 Walnut Street, Southwest	615 524-2721
LAS VEGAS, Nevada 89101	Room 2-011 Federal Off. Bldg	702 385-1281
LITTLE ROCK, Arkansas 72201	215 U. S. Post Office Bldg.	501 FR 2-3157
LOS ANGELES, California 90017	1340 West 6th Street	213 483-3551
LOUISVILLE, Kentucky 40202	Room 701, Bank of Louisville	502 583-3941
MEMPHIS, Tennessee 38103	841 Federal Office Bldg.	901 525-7373
MIAMI, Florida 33137	3801 Biscayne Boulevard	305 379-2421
MILWAUKEE, Wisconsin 53202	735 U. S. Post Office, Customs & Court House Building	414 276-4684
MINNEAPOLIS, Minnesota 55401	392 Federal Building	612 FE 9-7861
MOBILE, Alabama 36602	520 Federal Building	205 438-3674
NEWARK, New Jersey 07101	U. S. Post Office & Court House Building	201 622-5613
NEW HAVEN, Connecticut 06510	510 The Trust Company Bldg.	203 787-1217
NEW ORLEANS, Louisiana 70113	701 Loyola Avenue	504 522-4671
NEW YORK, New York 10021	201 East 69th Street	212 IE 5-7700
NORFOLK, Virginia 23510	420 U. S. Post Office & Court House Building	703 625-1631
OKLAHOMA CITY, Oklahoma 73118	5104 N. Francis Street	405 VI 2-7471
OMAHA, Nebraska 68102	1010 Federal Office Bldg.	402 348-1210
PHILADELPHIA, Pennsylvania 19107	500 Widener Building	215 LO 3-5300
PHOENIX, Arizona 85013	244 West Osborn Road	602 CR 9-5511
PITTSBURGH, Pennsylvania 15222	1300 Federal Office Bldg.	412 471-2000
PORTLAND, Oregon 97205	423 U. S. Court House Bldg.	503 224-4181
RICHMOND, Virginia 23220	200 West Grace Street	703 644-2631
SACRAMENTO, California 95814	2020 J Street	916 441-1275
ST. LOUIS, Missouri 63103	2704 Federal Building	314 CH 1-5357
SALT LAKE CITY, Utah 84111	3203 Federal Building	801 EL 5-7521
SAN ANTONIO, Texas 78206	433 Federal Building	512 CA 5-6741
SAN DIEGO, California 92103	3211 Fifth Avenue	714 297-3381
SAN FRANCISCO, California 94102	450 Golden Gate Avenue, Box 36015	415 552-2155
SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico 00917	Pan Am Building	765-6000
SAVANNAH, Georgia 31405	255 Ponce de Leon Avenue	912 354-9911
SEATTLE, Washington 98104	5401 Paulsen Street	208 MA 2-0460
SPRINGFIELD, Illinois 62701	1015 Second Avenue	217 522-9675
TAMPA, Florida 33602	421 South Sixth Street	813 228-7661
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535	Room 610, Federal Off. Bldg.	202 393-7100

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FIRST CLASS MAIL

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATION SECTION

DEC 16 1968

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC

FBI ATLANTA

6:52 PM URGENT 12/16/68 LBN

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251), SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) AND BIRMINGHAM  
(157-3605)

FROM ATLANTA (88-10787) (P)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE; RM-BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH  
INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER; OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

RE AT TELS DECEMBER FIFTEEN AND TELEPHONE CALLS TO SAN FRANCISCO  
AND BIRMINGHAM DECEMBER SIXTEEN.

ATLANTA SOURCE ADVISES

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

END PAGE ONE

DEC 16 1968

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DEC

1968

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b7C  
b7D

REC-12 100-447251-1

PAGE TWO .

b6  
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b7D

SOURCES ASSIGNED TO DETERMINE ADDITIONAL DETAILS RE CLEAVER'S  
VISIT TO ATLANTA .

END.

MKA

FBI WASH DC

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

VIA TELETYPE

DEC 16 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

WA ----6----

FBI NEW YORK

5:00 PM URGENT 12-16-68 AWS

TO DIRECTOR 100-447251, AND SAN FRANCISCO 88-12329 (CODE)

SF VIA WASHINGTON  
ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-161321

✓ *no working*  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER-FUGITIVE; RM. BPP,  
UFAC-ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER;

OO: SF.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

RE NYTEL, DECEMBER FIFTEEN, LAST.

THE FOLLOWING IS A SUMMARY OF INVESTIGATION CONDUCTED

THIS DATE:

RACIAL AND CRIMINAL INFORMANTS OF THE NYO HAVE FAILED TO  
REVEAL ANY INFORMATION REGARDING SPECIFIC LOCATION OF SUBJECT.

[REDACTED] WHO HAS BEEN [REDACTED]

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED] ADVISED THAT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] SOURCE UNABLE

TO DEVELOP ANY FURTHER DATA ON THE PRESENT WHEREABOUTS OF SUBJECT.

NYCPD AND LOCAL FEDERAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES UNABLE

TO FURNISH ANY PERTINENT DATA.

INTERVIEWS WITH VARIOUS BPP MEMBERS, LEADERS AND

ACTIVISTS CONTINUED THIS DATE, HOWEVER, THESE INTERVIEWS REMAIN

51 DECEMBER 1968  
TELETYPE TO: FTB + SF

REC-2 100-447251-212  
18 DEC 19 1968



PAGE TWO

TWO

UNPRODUCTIVE RE DEVELOPING INFORMATION ON SUBJECT'S  
WHEREABOUTS.

NYO CONTINUES EFFORTS TO DEVELOP DATA ON ASSOCIATES  
OF SUBJECTS IN NYC AREA AND AS THIS INFO IS ASCERTAINED, LEADS  
ARE BEING ASSIGNED FOR APPROPRIATE INTERVIEWS. ALONG THIS LINE,  
NYO IS PURSUING INVESTIGATION TO DEVELOP THE IDENTITIES OF  
SUBJECT'S ASSOCIATES BOTH IN THE WHITE AND BLACK COMMUNITIES.

INASMUCH AS

b6  
b7c

PRESENT INDICATIONS REFLECT THAT SUBJECT NOT IN NYC AREA,  
UACB, THE NYO WILL DISCONTINUE DAILY SUMMARIES IN THIS MATTER.  
NYO CONTINUES TO VIGOROUSLY PURSUE THE INVESTIGATION, ALL LEADS  
DEVELOPED WHICH NECESSITATE WORK IN OTHER

OFFICES, WILL BE  
SET FORTH AS EXPEDITIOUSLY AS THE SITUATION DIRECTS.

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS. ✓

WA

~~CORR SP VIA WASHINGTON~~

~~P 2 L11 LAST WORD S OFFICES, WILL BE~~

WA...RDR R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

*cc - Mr Sullivan*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 04-06-2006 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/DCG/EHL

FBI

Date: 12/11/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI <sup>100-447251</sup>  
FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329)  
SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER-  
FUGITIVE;  
RM-BPP  
UFAC-ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER  
OO: San Francisco

DAILY SUMMARY

Re myairtel 12/10/68.

Confidential source. New York City. Office advised

TWA flight 496, Nashville-Miami hijacked 12/11/68,  
after departing Nashville, Tennessee, landed at Jose Marti  
Airport, Havana, Cuba. AP Miami, Florida, states subjects of  
piracy appeared to be young Negro male and female. Investigation  
continuing to attempt to ascertain if hijackers identical to  
Subject and wife.

REC-6

100-447251-213

California All-Points Bulletin issued re Subject's  
Federal Fugitive status.

FD 61 submitted this date.

3 Bureau  
2 - San Francisco  
RCD/rlg  
(5)

EX 106

11 DEC 1968

b6  
b7C

FUGITIVE

RACIAL INT. SECT.

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

61 DEC 26 1968

Special Agent in Charge

not  
identical  
to  
case  
12/11/68

C. C. Bishop

SF 88-12329  
RCD/rlg

Photo of Subject without beard taken April, 1968, distributed to all offices this date for inclusion in Black Nationalist Album.

Review of files to identify associates of Subject continuing and logical leads developed therefrom will be set out 12/12/68.

Referral/Direct

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS

I. O. 4238  
12-18-68

INTERSTATE FLIGHT - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER

**WANTED BY FBI**

**LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER**

FBI No. 214,830 B

24 L 13 U GOM 19

1 2 U 001

ALIASES: Eldridge Cleaver, Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Jr.



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC

Photographs taken 1968  
TAM/MLT/EHL

Photograph taken 1966

*Leroy Eldridge Cleaver*



**DESCRIPTION**

AGE: 33, born August 31, 1935, Little Rock, Arkansas  
HEIGHT: 6'2" EYES: brown  
WEIGHT: 185 to 195 pounds COMPLEXION: medium  
BUILD: medium RACE: Negro  
HAIR: black NATIONALITY: American  
OCCUPATIONS: author, clerk, laborer, magazine editor, reporter, writer  
SCARS AND MARKS: numerous pock scars on back  
REMARKS: sometimes wears small gold earring in pierced left ear lobe

**CRIMINAL RECORD**

Cleaver has been convicted of assault with intent to commit murder, assault with a deadly weapon and possession of narcotics.

**CAUTION**

CLEAVER ALLEGEDLY ENGAGED POLICE OFFICERS IN GUN BATTLE IN THE PAST. CONSIDER ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

2 DEC 20 1968

A Federal warrant was issued on December 10, 1968, at San Francisco, California, charging Cleaver with unlawful interstate flight to avoid confinement after conviction for assault with intent to commit murder (Title 18, U. S. Code, Section 1073).

IF YOU HAVE INFORMATION CONCERNING THIS PERSON, PLEASE CONTACT YOUR LOCAL FBI OFFICE.  
TELEPHONE NUMBERS AND ADDRESSES OF ALL FBI OFFICES LISTED ON BACK.

Identification Order 4238  
December 18, 1968

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C. 20535

4239  
100-447251

1-Cook,  
2-Lithographer,

I. O. 4239  
12-18-68

INTERSTATE FLIGHT - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER

**WANTED BY FBI**

**LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER**

FBI No. 214,830 B

24 L 13 U ODM 19

1 2 U GOI

ALIASES: Eldridge Cleaver, Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Jr.



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

Photograph taken 1966



**DESCRIPTION**

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TELEPHONE NUMBERS AND ADDRESSES OF ALL FBI OFFICES LISTED ON BACK.**

Identification Order 4239  
December 18, 1968

Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C. 20535

FBI WASH DC

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATION SECTION

DEC 17 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI BIRMGHAM

1020 PM DEFERRED 12-17-68 GDM

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251) , ATLANTA (88-10787), CHICAGO AND

SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329)

FROM BIRMINGHAM (157-3605)

*WF#447*  
*I.O. Working*

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER FUGITIVE; RM-BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH  
INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER; OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

*F. J. [Signature]*

RE BH TEL YESTERDAY, AND RE AT TEL YESTERDAY INDICATING



b6  
b7C  
b7D

*bs*

END PAGE ONE

REC-19

*100 - 447251 - 214*

EX-103

*DEC 19 1968*

XEROX

DEC 17 1968

54 DEC 27 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

FBI

Date: 11/25/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (157-8943)

FROM: SAC, MEMPHIS (157-1154) (RUC)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER;  
RM - BPP

SAN FRANCISCO OO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

Re Memphis teletype to Bureau, 11/19/68, and San  
Francisco teletype to Memphis, 11/20/68.

Information received by Memphis that subject was to  
be in Nashville, Tenn., on 11/21/68 for speaking engagement.

By referenced communication San Francisco advised  
California Department of Corrections will not allow subject to  
leave state.

Subject did not appear in Nashville. No further  
investigation will be conducted.

REC-92

b6  
b7c

3 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - San Francisco (157-1057) (RM)  
Airtel 1 - Memphis

Teletype WDM:mjh  
(5)

12 NOV 27 1968

RACIAL INT. SECT.

51 DECS 1968

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

02 1969



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL  
DATE: 12/4/68

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (157-8943) *0-7 KX, ME  
Bufile # 6-11-69  
JW*

FROM : SAC, KNOXVILLE (157-1491) (RUC)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RACIAL MATTERS -  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Re Knoxville airtel to San Francisco 11/18/68 (IO);  
Memphis teletype to Director 11/19/68;  
San Francisco teletype to Birmingham, Memphis  
and Knoxville 11/20/68.

Enclosed for the information of San Francisco are  
xerox copies of the following newspaper articles:

- (1) Article appearing in the Knoxville Journal,  
a daily publication, Knoxville, Tennessee,  
page 14, on 11/16/68;
- (2) Article appearing on page 1, "U-T Daily  
Beacon", a student publication of the  
University of Tennessee, Knoxville,  
Tennessee, on 11/15/68;
- (3) Article appearing Knoxville Journal, page 5,  
11/20/68.

                     who has furnished reliable information  
in the past, advised SA                      at 8:15 PM on

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

If any information is received that CLEAVER is to  
appear in the Knoxville Division, the San Francisco Office  
will be immediately notified.

- 2 - Bureau REGISTERED MAIL *EX-103-557-8943-27*  
1 - Memphis (Info) (157-1154) REGISTERED MAIL *100-447251-215X1*  
2 - San Francisco (Enc. -3) (157-1057) REGISTERED MAIL *15 DEC 9 1968*  
3 - Knoxville (1 - 157-1491)  
(1 - 157-1320) (Greater Knoxville  
Council on Human Relations)

HAM/cyp  
(8)

(1 -                     )

b2  
b7D

b6  
b7C



54 DEC 12 1968  
02 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATION SECTION

DEC 16 1968

TELETYPE

FBI WASH DC

FBI BIRMGHAM

11:25 AM URGENT 12-16-68 CEB

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251), ATLANTA (157-3550), CHICAGO, NEW YORK  
(100-161321, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520) AND SPRINGFIELD  
FROM BIRMINGHAM (157-3605)

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE; RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH  
INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER; OO SAN FRANCISCO.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

FOR INFORMATION CHICAGO,

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

END PAGE ONE

54 JAN 2 - 1969

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C

12/16/68

**SPECIAL INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION**

Attached teletype reports information  
received from a New York source indicating



b7D

Intensive investigation continuing to  
locate Cleaver.

JRF

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

*[Handwritten signature]*

VIA TELETYPE

DEC 14 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. DeLoach  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Bishop  
Mr. Casper  
Mr. Callahan  
Mr. Conrad  
Mr. Felt  
Mr. Gale  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Sullivan  
Mr. Tavel  
Mr. Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Miss Holmes  
Miss Gandy

FBI NEW YORK

WA -06-

6-46 PM URGENT 12-14-68 RDB

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251) AND SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329)

(CODE)

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON

FROM NEW YORK (100-161521) 2P

Unlawful Flight to Avoid Confinement

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE - ~~BTAC~~ - ASSAULT

Office of Origin

WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER. ~~100~~ - SAN FRANCISCO)

NEW YORK TELETYPE

REFERENCE ~~NY TEL~~, DECEMBER THIRTEEN, SIXTY

EIGHT.

THE FOLLOWING IS A SUMMARY OF INVESTIGATION

CONDUCTED THIS DATE-

NEW YORK CITY Police Department  
A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ~~NYCPD~~ TELEPHONICALLY

ADVISED THIS DATE THAT A SOURCE OF THE ~~NYCPD~~ STATED

b7D

44 7251-217  
DEC 19 1968

END PAGE ONE

TELETYPED TO:

54 JAN 2 - 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

PAGE TWO

*NEW YORK CITY* Police Department  
THE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE ~~NYCPD~~ STATED THAT

b7D

*NEW YORK OFFICE*

~~NYO~~ CONTINUING INVESTIGATION.

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANDEROUS. ✓

END

FJB

FBI WASH DC

R RELAY

Q

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

VIA TELETYPE

DEC 16 1968

ENCIPHERED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309  
TAM/MLT/EHL

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

250)PM URGENT 12-16-68 JAM

TO DIRECTOR 100-447251 ATLANTA 157-3550 BIRMINGHAM 157-3605

AND SAN FRANCISCO 100-55520 PLAINTEXT

ATT DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON

FROM NEW YORK 100-161321 1P

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER-FUGITIVE; RACIAL MATTERS-BPP,  
UFAC-ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER; OO SAN FRANCISCO

RE BIRMINGHAM THIS DATE.

SUBSEQUENT TO INFORMATION FURNISHED BY NYO SOURCE

REGARDING

b6  
b7C

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS. P.

END

HWL R RELAY TELETYPED TO:

FBI WASH DC

61 DEC 30 1968  
CC MR. SULLIVAN

51-218

1968

*[Handwritten signature]*

12/10/68

**SPECIAL INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION**

Attached teletype concerning Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, leader of Black Panther Party, indicates that the U. S. Attorney, San Francisco, has now decided to authorize unlawful flight complaint and warrant for Cleaver. Complaint to be filed today.

Cleaver is being sought by California authorities for violation of his parole. Subject is also presently under bond of \$50,000 in connection with charges involving assault with a deadly weapon resulting from a gun battle in April, 1968, with the Oakland, California, Police.

b6  
b7C

An intensive investigation is being pursued to locate Cleaver.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-22-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/ERL

JRF

*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten initials]*



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 04-06-2006 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/DCG/EHL

VIA TELETYPE

DEC 9 1968

ENCIPHERED

b6  
b7C

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

TO WASHINGTON --8--  
8:24 PM URGENT 12-9-68 KCK  
TO DIRECTOR AND NEW YORK --CODE--  
NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON  
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520) 2P

*IC* *Racial Matter - Black Panther Party (BPP)*  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, *BM-BPP*; *UEAC-PAROLE VIOLATOR.*  
*Unlawful Flight to Avoid Confinement*

A SOURCE ADVISED THIS DATE

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

A SECOND SOURCE ADVISED THIS DATE,

b6  
b7C  
b7D

END PAGE ONE

TELETYPE TO:

*NY, FBI*

XEROX

DEC 9 1968 DEC 31 1968

REC-51

EX-113

DEC 16 1968

b6  
b7C

PAGE TWO

SF 100-55520



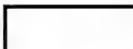
b6  
b7C  
b7D

ADMINISTRATIVE:

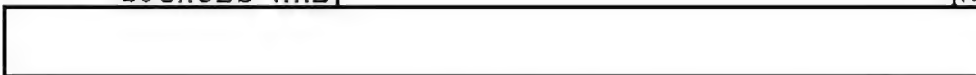
SOURCES ARE



AND



b6  
b7C  
b7D



RESFTEL TO BUREAU AND NY DEC. EIGHT SIXTYEIGHT, CAPTIONED *Black Panther Party* ~~BPP~~.

END

WLM R RELAY  
FBI WASHDC

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

VIA TELETYPE  
DEC 14 1968  
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

12/14/68  
B  
82/78, /6

FBI NEW YORK

WA -05-

6-06 PM URGENT 12-14-68 RDB

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251), ATLANTA AND SAN FRANCISCO

(CODE)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

y ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

ATLANTA AND SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON

FROM NEW YORK (100-161321) 2P

LERROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE - UFAC -

ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER.

(OO - SAN FRANCISCO)

[REDACTED] ADVISED THIS DATE

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

END PAGE ONE

EX-113

REC-59

100-447251-220  
10 DEC 16 1968

TELETYPED TO:

AT  
39 DEC 20 1968

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATION SECTION

DEC 14 1968

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

FBI WASH DC\*

11:35 URGENT 12/14/68 JJH

TELETYPE

TO DIRECTOR, SAN FRANCISCO AND NEW YORK  
FROM ATLANTA 157-3550

LEROI ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA.-FUGITIVE, RM-BPP, UFAC-ASSAULT WITH

INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, OO: SF

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC

TAM/MLT/EHL

RE SF TEL 12/13/68

NO NEGRO CLUB OR BAR IDENTIFIABLE WITH INQUIRY IN RE TEL LOCATED

COLUMBUS, GA BASED ON AVAILABLE INFORMATION ONLY P D RECORD

POSSIBLY IDENTICAL WITH

NO ADDITIONAL INFO

LOCATED

MOST PROMINENT NEGRO CLUBS IN DOWNTOWN AREA ARE CLUB NINETY

NINE LOCATED NINTH ST. AND NINTH AVE. AND TOP HAT NINTH ST. AND

FIFTH AVE., OPERATED BY FEMALES.

2 DEC 16 1968

FOUNTAIN CITY VETERAN'S CLUB FOUR TWENTY NINTH STREET AND "THE

PARTY" NINTH STREET AND FOURTH AVE. ARE BOTH

b6  
b7C

PAGE 3 000008

DEC 14 1968

PAGE TWO

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] INFORMANTS ALERTED . INTENSIVE

INVESTIGATION CONTINUING.

PLEASE SEND PHOTOS OF SUBJECT.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

END.

SAA

FBI WASH DC\*

TU

CC. MR. SULLIVAN

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATION SECTION

FBI WASH DC\*

DEC 15 1968

2:30 PM URGENT 12/15/68 JJH

TELETYPE

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251), SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520),  
NEW YORK (100-161321), BIRMINGHAM AND SPRINGFIELD.  
FROM ATLANTA (157-3550)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER-FUGITIVE-UFAC-ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO  
COMMIT MURDER. OO: SAN FRANCISCO

RE SF TEL TWELVE THIRTEEN SIXTY EIGHT, SF TEL TWELVE FOURTEEN  
SIXTY EIGHT, NY TELS TWELVE FOURTEEN SIXTY EIGHT, AND AT  
TELEPHONE CALL TO BIRMINGHAM TWELVE FIFTEEN SIXTY EIGHT.

CONTENT OF TEL HAS BEEN FURNISHED BH BY TELEPHONE FOR THEIR INFO.

MAIL COPIES BEING FORWARDED TO BH OF RE TELS.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

b6  
b7C

51 DEC 30 1968

PAGE TWO

b6  
b7C

BH REFER TO BLACK NATIONALIST PHOTO ALBUM FOR COMPLETE DESCRIPTION  
OF SUBJECT AND SUBJECT'S WIFE AND AFFORD DISCREET <sup>0</sup>CPVERAGE OF  
SUBJECT'S WIFE AND REMAIN ALERT FOR ANY INFORMATION RE WHEREABOUTS OF  
SUBJECT.

*Approved*

b6  
b7C

CONSIDER SUBJECT AND WIFE ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

END.

MSE

FBI WASH DC\*

CC- MR. SULLIVAN



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

DEC 13 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

FBI SAN FRAN

247PM URGENT 12-13-68 MS

TO DIRECTOR, ATLANTA & NEW YORK

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) 2P

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, AKA. ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE, RM - BPP,  
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, OO: SF

ON [REDACTED] INSTANT, [REDACTED] (PROTECT  
IDENTITY) [REDACTED]  
ADVISED BUAGENT [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

REC-2A 100-447251-222

END PAGE ONE

XEROX

DEC 31 1968

DEC

1968

b6  
b7C

12/13/68

7/1/68

PAGE TWO

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED]

THE NEGRO CLUB WAS DESCRIBED AS BEING IN COLORED SECTION OF COLUMBUS AND SET BACK FROM STREET ABOUT SEVENTYFIVE FEET. THE STREET IS ONE OF THE MAIN STREETS COMING OFF A BRIDGE FROM PHOENIX CITY.

FOR INFO ATLANTA, AUTHORIZED COMPLAINT FILED DECEMBER TEN, LAST, BY SA [REDACTED] BEFORE USC RICHARD S. GOLDSMITH, SAN FRANCISCO, CHARGING SUBJECT WITH VIOLATION OF T. EIGHTEEN, USC, S. ONE ZERO SEVEN THREE (UFAC-PAROLE VIOLATION, ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, ASSAULT WITH DEADLY WEAPON) AND WARRANT ISSUED. BOND RECOMMENDED ONE HUNDRED THOUSAN DOLLARS SECURITY OR CASH.

b6  
b7C

PHOTO AND PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION OF SUBJECT IN YOUR BLACK NATIONALIST ALBUM.

NEW YORK ADVISE IF IN RECEIPT OF ANY INFORMATION THAT ADAM CLAYTON POWELL RECENTLY IN COLUMBUS, GEORGIA.

ATLANTA, AT COLUMBUS, REQUESTED TO IDENTIFY CLUB AND OWNER, IF POSSIBLE, DETERMINE IF CLEAVER [REDACTED] IN AREA, AND AFFECT APPREHENSION OF CLEAVER.

b6  
b7C

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

END

CKG

FBI WASH DC

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

12-15-68  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATION SECTION

DEC 15 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

FBI SPRNGFLD

419PM URGENT 12-15-68 DJK

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251), SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520),  
NEW YORK (100-161321), BIRMINGHAM, AND ATLANTA (157-3550)  
FROM SPRINGFIELD (157-1105) 1P

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT  
TO COMMIT MURDER. OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

RE ATLANTA TEL INSTANT.

MVB RECORDS, SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS REFLECT SIXTYEIGHT  
ILLINOIS LICENSE [REDACTED] MENTIONED IN RETEL  
ISSUED TO [REDACTED]

b6  
b7c

CHICAGO ADVISED SEPARATELY.

END

SAA

FBI WASH DC

REC-2

100-447251-224

DEC 16 1968

61 DEC 30 1968  
CC- MR. SULLIVAN

*[Handwritten signature]*

T&,YNDIQF&,/6

---1---

FBI NEW YORK

421PM URGENT 12-15-68 JJM

TO DIRECTOR AND SAN FRANCISCO TAM/MLT/EHL

VIA TELETYPE

DEC 15 1968

ENCIPHERED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AU

Mr. Tolson\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel\_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter\_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes\_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy\_\_\_\_\_

PLAIN TEXT

SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON

ATT DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 1P

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER DASH FUGITIVE DASH UFAC; ASSAULT  
WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER; OO:SAN FRANCISCO.

BUFILE 100-447251, SANFRANCISCO FILE 88-12329

NYFILE 100-161321.

REFERENCE NEW YORK TELETYPES, DECEMBER FOURTEEN,  
SIXTY EIGHT.

THE FOLLOWING IS A SUMMARY OF INVESTIGATION  
CONDUCTED THIS DATE:

CONTACT WITH LOGICAL INFORMANTS FAILED TO DEVELOP  
ANY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FOR SUBJECT AND/OR HIS WIFE. DEC 16 1968  
NYCPD ALSO UNABLE TO FURNISH ANY ADDITIONAL DATA  
RE THIS MATTER.

NYO CONTINUING INVESTIGATION.

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

TELETYPED TO:

SF

61 DEC 30 1968  
CC- MR. SULLIVAN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-12-2009 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

Date: 12/13/68

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI  
FROM: SAC, WFO (88-7106)

LEROY ELRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE  
RM-BPP,  
UFAC ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO  
COMMIT MURDER  
(OO:SF)

REC-18

\_\_\_\_\_ was  
interviewed this date by SAs \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ Washington, DC

b6  
b7C  
b7D

b6  
b7C  
b7D

b6  
b7C  
b7D

- 3 - Bureau  
1 - San Francisco  
1 - New York  
2 - WFO

(1 - 157-1584) Bishop

BEB:arw

(7)

61 JAN 2 1969

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7C

WFO 88-7106

b6  
b7C  
b7D

LEAD: \_\_\_\_\_

SAN FRANCISCO

AT SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

b6  
b7C

If not already done so, will give consideration to interview of subject's mother in view of  opinion of her,

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

FBI

Date: 12/11/68

Mr. Tolson ☒  
Mr. DeLoach ☒  
Mr. Mohr ☒  
Mr. Bishop ☒  
Mr. Casper ☒  
Mr. Callahan ☒  
Mr. Conrad ☒  
Mr. Felt ☒  
Mr. Gale ☒  
Mr. Rosen ☒  
Mr. Sullivan ☒  
Mr. Tavel ☒  
Mr. Trotter ☒  
Tele. Room ☒  
Miss Holmes ☒  
Miss Gandy ☒

Transmit the following in CODE

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI AND SAC, SAN FRANCISCO

FROM: SAC, WFO

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, FUGITIVE, RM-BPP, UFAC-ASSAULT  
WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

SOURCE, WHO HAS FURNISHED RELIABLE INFORMATION IN THE  
PAST, ADVISED THIS DATE THAT IN TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH  
STOKELY CARMICHAEL, IT WAS LEARNED THAT ULTIMATE DESTINATION  
OF CAPTIONED SUBJECT IS REPUBLIC OF GUINEA, AFRICA. PRESENT  
LOCATION AND EXPECTED TRAVEL PLANS OF SUBJECT NOT LEARNED.

## ADMINISTRATIVE

SOURCE IS b2  
b7D

RE ALL SAC TEL DECEMBER TEN, LAST.

WFO MAINTAINING CONTACT FOR ADDITIONAL INFORMATION.

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

b6  
b7C

- 2 - Bureau (100-447251)  
3 - Teletype Unit  
2 - WFO (157-2026)

REC-18

611-15

100-447251-227  
12 DEC 17 1968

RNW:tjd  
(7) XEROX

CC: FUG. SUPER

CC: MR. GALE  
CC: MR. SULLIVAN

Approved:

61 JAN 2 1969

Special Agent in Charge

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_



WA ---12---

FBI NEW YORK

5:00 PM URGENT 12-13-68 AWS

TO DIRECTOR 100-447251 AND SAN FRANCISCO 88-12329 (CODE)

ATTENTION DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

SF VIA WASHINGTON

FROM NEW YORK 100-161321 (3P) DATE 04-06-2006 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/DCG/EHL

VIA TELETYPE

DEC 13 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER -FUGITIVE-UFAC- ASSAULT WITH INTENT  
TO COMMIT MURDER; OO: SF.

b6  
b7C

RE NYTEL, DECEMBER TWELVE, LAST.

THE FOLLOWING IS A SUMMARY OF INVESTIGATION CONDUCTED  
THIS DATE:

\_\_\_\_\_ ADVISED THAT

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

we

7257229

7 1968

END PAGE ONE  
TELETYPED TO:

5/54 JAN 2 - 1969

PAGE TWO



b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

OTHER CONTACTS WITH CRIMINAL AND RACIAL INFORMANTS OF  
THE NYO NEGATIVE RE WHEREABOUTS OF SUBJECT. [REDACTED]

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED] ADVISED THAT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] BUT HAS DEVELOPED NO SPECIFIC INFORMATION RE-  
GARDING SUBJECT'S LOCATION.

PA

PAGE THREE

INTERVIEWS WITH BPP MEMBERS, LEADERS AND ACTIVISTS  
CONTINUING AND ALL REMAIN UNPRODUCTIVE TO DATE RE SUBJECT'S  
WHEREABOUTS.

APPROPRIATE STOPS REMAIN IN EFFECT AT ALL AIRLINES  
NYC RE [REDACTED] AND SUBJECT. NO ADVANCED  
RESERVATION DATA DEVELOPED TO DATE.

b6  
b7C

NYCPD AND OTHER LOCAL FEDERAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES  
NYC AREA UNABLE TO FURNISH ANY DATA ON SUBJECT.

NYO.

NYO CONTINUING INVESTIGATION.

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

END

COVRDR R RELAY.

FBI WASH

FBI

Date: 12/16/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code).Via AIRTEL AIRMAIL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM: SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329)(P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER -  
FUGITIVE;  
Wanted Flyer 447  
RM - BPP,  
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH  
INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER  
OO: San Francisco

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

DAILY AIRTEL SUMMARY

Re San Francisco airtel, 12/13/68.

A check of the passport files of the Department  
of State on 11/21 and 12/12/68 for information regarding  
Subject, negative. No Negro bars or clubs identical to  
the one mentioned by [redacted] (protect identity)  
located in Columbus, Georgia. [redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

3 - Bureau  
2 - San Francisco  
RCD:bfr  
(5)

REC 44  
100-447251-32  
#2 C.C. Bishop

6 DEC 19 1968

b6  
b7C

Approved: 57 JAN 6 1969 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

SF 88-12329

RCD:bfr

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] San Francisco, [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] when Subject was released on parole, contacted  
with no information of value received. [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] both claim whereabouts of both the Subject and KATHLEEN CLEAVER unknown to them.

Contacts with sources and informants negative to date regarding CLEAVER's whereabouts.

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

FBI

Date: 12/17/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-44725)  
FROM : SAC SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) (P)  
SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE  
WF #447  
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH  
INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER  
(OO: SF)

Remyairtel 12/16/68.

DAILY AIRTEL SUMMARY

[redacted] interviewed at [redacted]  
[redacted] and states whereabouts of subject unknown to her. She  
advises [redacted] She indicates  
she will cooperate with FBI.

b6  
b7Cb6  
b7C  
b7Db2  
b6  
b7C  
b7Db6  
b7C

On 12/17/68, Agents went to subject's former  
residence at 2777 Pine St., San Francisco, in an attempt to  
locate and interview subject and/or KATHLEEN CLEAVER. No one

3 - Bureau  
2 - San Francisco  
(1 - 100-55520)

RCD:ab  
(5)

REC 22

6 DEC 19 1968

Approved: 5 JAN 3 1969  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

RECEIVED  
FUGITIVE  
SECTION

SF 88-12329  
RCD:ab

came to the door and agents departed. Immediately thereafter an attempt was made to make contact at this residence by telephone with negative results; however, the phone is still connected.

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED] The subject has not been seen at this address in recent weeks. Source states that no one appears to be residing at this residence but both black and white people occasionally are observed entering and leaving apparently on visits.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED]

Attempt to contact [REDACTED] of subject,

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] met with response from [REDACTED] that she would not discuss the CLEAVER matter.

San Francisco will continue to contact acquaintances and sources in an attempt to locate KATHLEEN CLEAVER and subject.

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED FBI  
DATE 05-02-2006 BY 60309 AUC Date: 12/19/68  
TAM/DCG/EHL

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

**PLAINTEXT**

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via \_\_\_\_\_

**AIRTEL****REGISTERED MAIL**

(Priority)

**TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)**  
**FROM: SAC, NEWARK (157-2679)**  
**SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER**  
**RM - BPP**

Re San Francisco airtel to Bureau, dated 12/12/68.

For information of the Bureau and San Francisco,  
Newark furnished to Bureau and San Francisco information  
re [redacted] communications  
beginning with teletypes to Bureau and San Francisco, dated  
11/18/68, sent under BPP caption and file numbers, and  
subsequent communications.

In addition, [redacted] he has  
no information concerning alleged discussion among  
BPP re means of protecting CLEAVER.

12  
3- Bureau (RM)  
2- San Francisco (100-55520) (RM)  
2- Newark  
(1- [redacted])

JWB:mcv  
(7)

**EX-103****REC-19****C. C. Bishop**

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

**RACIAL IND. SECT.**

50 JAN 3 1969

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 100-447251 ) DATE 12/19/68

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520) - P

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

100-447251-101D

Card sent 00

w/attached  
bje 12/30/68

AGITATOR

## RABBLE//ROUSER INDEX

☐ New Subject ☒ Change ☐ Delete

Name		FBI Number																									
Aliases																											
Citizenship <input type="checkbox"/> Native Born <input type="checkbox"/> Naturalized <input type="checkbox"/> Alien																											
Subject also on <input type="checkbox"/> SI <input type="checkbox"/> RI		Race	Sex <input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female																								
Organizational Affiliation <table border="0"><tr><td><input type="checkbox"/> 01 ANP</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 07 KLAN</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 12 PLP</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 17 SNCC</td></tr><tr><td><input type="checkbox"/> 02 AVN</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 08 LA</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 13 PRN</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 18 SWP</td></tr><tr><td><input type="checkbox"/> 03 BNAT</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 09 MIN</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 14 RAM</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 19 WWP</td></tr><tr><td><input type="checkbox"/> 04 BPP</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 10 NOI</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 15 SCLC</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 20 MISC</td></tr><tr><td><input type="checkbox"/> 05 COM</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 11 NSRP</td><td><input type="checkbox"/> 16 SDS</td><td>(Specify)</td></tr><tr><td><input type="checkbox"/> 06 CORE</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr></table>				<input type="checkbox"/> 01 ANP	<input type="checkbox"/> 07 KLAN	<input type="checkbox"/> 12 PLP	<input type="checkbox"/> 17 SNCC	<input type="checkbox"/> 02 AVN	<input type="checkbox"/> 08 LA	<input type="checkbox"/> 13 PRN	<input type="checkbox"/> 18 SWP	<input type="checkbox"/> 03 BNAT	<input type="checkbox"/> 09 MIN	<input type="checkbox"/> 14 RAM	<input type="checkbox"/> 19 WWP	<input type="checkbox"/> 04 BPP	<input type="checkbox"/> 10 NOI	<input type="checkbox"/> 15 SCLC	<input type="checkbox"/> 20 MISC	<input type="checkbox"/> 05 COM	<input type="checkbox"/> 11 NSRP	<input type="checkbox"/> 16 SDS	(Specify)	<input type="checkbox"/> 06 CORE			
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<input type="checkbox"/> 04 BPP	<input type="checkbox"/> 10 NOI	<input type="checkbox"/> 15 SCLC	<input type="checkbox"/> 20 MISC																								
<input type="checkbox"/> 05 COM	<input type="checkbox"/> 11 NSRP	<input type="checkbox"/> 16 SDS	(Specify)																								
<input type="checkbox"/> 06 CORE																											
Date of Birth		Place of Birth																									
Position in Organization	Occupation, Business Address (Show Name of Employing Concern)  Unknown																										
Residence Address Unknown		100-447251- NOT RECORDED 6 DEC 28 1968																									

REGISTERED MAIL

2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - San Francisco

FL/jr  
(3)

56 JAN 7 1969

b6  
b7C

RACIAL INT. SEC.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/241 Date. 12/19/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI ~~(100-44725)~~ **100-447251**  
FROM : SAC SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) (P)  
SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE  
WF #447  
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT  
TO COMMIT MURDER  
(OO: SF)

Remyairtel 12/18/68.

DAILY SUMMARY

**100-447251-232**  
[redacted] USPO, Long Beach, Calif., in possession of letter postmarked 12/15/68, New York City, addressed "Students For Racism, 795 Bellflower Blvd., Long Beach, Calif.", return address "E. Cleaver, 207 E. 74 St., NY, NY." Investigation reflects above address in Long Beach is apartment house and addressee not listed. Investigation being conducted New York City re above.

REC-76

3 - Bureau  
2 - San Francisco  
(1 - 100-55520)  
RCD:ab  
(5)

20 DEC 21 1968

b6  
b7C

**54 JAN 8 - 1969**  
E. C. Bishop

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

SF 88-12329

RCD:ab

[redacted] has implied he is of the opinion that subject may appear to answer pending charges, [redacted]

b6  
b7C

Attempt to contact KATHLEEN CLEAVER, 2777 Pine St., San Francisco, unsuccessful this date as no one responded to contact. Unsuccessful attempt made to contact KATHLEEN CLEAVER at Black Panther Headquarters, 1419 Fillmore, San Francisco, this date.

[redacted]  
Cambria, Calif., advises in receipt of tip person resembling subject may be at residence of [redacted]  
[redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[redacted] Investigation continuing on this matter.

No additional information developed from contacts with militants and other associates. Investigation to locate and interview relatives, militants, and other associates continues.

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS

NIA  
12/18/68  
VIA TELETYPE  
DEC 18 1968  
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

WASH DC --5--

532 PM DEFERRED 12-18-68 VLB

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251), SAN FRANCISCO (157-1899) AND

NEW YORK --ENCODE--

/NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON/

FROM LOS ANGELES (88-15756) 2P

ELDRIDGE LEROY CLEAVER - FUGITIVE, RM-BPP. UFAC -  
ASSAULTING WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER - PB, OO: SAN  
FRANCISCO.

RE LA TELCALL TO NY DECEMBER EIGHTEEN INSTANT.

[REDACTED] (PROTECT), [REDACTED] U. S. POST OFFICE,  
LONG BEACH, CALIFORNIA, ADVISED TODAY IN POSSESSION LETTER  
POSTMARKED DECEMBER FIFTEEN LAST, NYC, ADDRESSED "STUDENTS  
FOR RACISM", [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED] RETURN ADDRESS: E. CLEAVER, TWO ZERO  
SEVEN EAST SEVEN FOUR STREET, NEW YORK, NEW YORK.

TELETYPED TO:

NY, FBI

REC 54

DEC 24 1968

XEROX  
DEC 18, 1968  
FEB 5 1969  
57 JAN 6 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

PAGE TWO

LA 88-15756

ATTEMPT NEGATIVE TO DEVELOP LEADS ON DECEMBER SEVENTEEN  
LAST BY POSTAL CARRIER AS [REDACTED] IS  
APARTMENT HOUSE AND ADDRESSEE NOT LISTED ON MAIL BOX.

b6  
b7c

LOS ANGELES INDICES NEGATIVE RE "STUDENTS FOR RACISM".  
NEW YORK CONDUCT APPROPRIATE INQUIRY AND ESTABLISH IDENTITY  
OF E. CLEAVER AT TWO ZERO SEVEN EAST SEVEN FOUR STREET,  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

END

WA...JDR R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

cc-Mr. Sullivan

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-448006)

12/9/68

SAC, ALBANY (157-231) (P)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM  
BLACK NATIONALIST - HATE GROUPS  
RACIAL INTELLIGENCE

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka  
RM - BPP

2  
CB

Re San Francisco letter to Bureau dated 11/1/68.

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER appeared at the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, (RPI), Troy, New York, on October 10, 1968. This was CLEAVER's first and only appearance in the Albany Division. This appearance was covered by sources and informants and his speech was taped in its entirety. A debriefing of all the sources and informants in attendance at CLEAVER's speech revealed that he was received enthusiastically by only a relatively small percentage of the approximately 1200 people attending. The sources indicate those in favor of his speech were affiliated with the Peace and Freedom Party and generally not students of RPI.

Write-ups by the local newspaper media and the "Polytechnic", a weekly student newspaper, reflected only the size of the crowd, predominantly students and the context of CLEAVER's speech. No where was there mentioned a disapproval of CLEAVER's appearance, his leadership qualities, or his language, except to describe it as "sometimes earthy".

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (RM)  
(1-157-601)  
(1-100-55520)
- 2 - Albany  
(1-157-231)  
(1-100-20283)

TCK/kdf  
(6)

53 JAN 1 6 1969

100-447251

DEC 13 1968



1 - Mr. Gale

1 - Mr.  

b6  
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

100-447251

TO ALL SPECIAL AGENTS IN CHARGE

RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, ALSO KNOWN AS -  
FUGITIVE, WANTED FLYER 447,  
IDENTIFICATION ORDER;  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY;  
UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID CONFINEMENT -  
ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER

Dear Sir:

Enclosed are ~~five~~ smooth finished copies of the photograph of  
Leroy Eldridge Cleaver. The San Francisco  
Division is the office of origin in this investigation. San Francisco  
Office file number is 88-12329.

Very truly yours,

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

Enc. <sup>10</sup><sub>(5)</sub>

1 - Crime Records Division (under separate cover)

NOTE: See memorandum Director to Mechanical Section, same  
caption, dated 12/16/68, JLB:jlb

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

100-447251-1

Int. Sec.  
1-9-69  
and

NOT RECORDED

6 JAN 10 1969

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

MAILED 7  
JAN 8 1969  
COMM-FBI

60 JAN 14 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

ENCLOSURE

152-445-001

TO: SAC,

☐ Albany  
☐ Albuquerque  
☐ Anchorage  
☐ Atlanta  
☐ Baltimore  
☐ Birmingham  
☐ Boston  
☐ Buffalo  
☐ Butte  
☐ Charlotte  
☐ Chicago  
☐ Cincinnati  
☐ Cleveland  
☐ Columbia  
☐ Dallas  
☐ Denver  
☐ Detroit  
☐ El Paso  
☐ Honolulu

☐ Houston  
☐ Indianapolis  
☐ Jackson  
☐ Jacksonville  
☐ Kansas City  
☐ Knoxville  
☐ Las Vegas  
☐ Little Rock  
☐ Los Angeles  
☐ Louisville  
☐ Memphis  
☐ Miami  
☐ Milwaukee  
☐ Minneapolis  
☐ Mobile  
☐ Newark  
☐ New Haven  
☐ New Orleans

☐ New York City  
☐ Norfolk  
☐ Oklahoma City  
☐ Omaha  
☐ Philadelphia  
☐ Phoenix  
☐ Pittsburgh  
☐ Portland  
☐ Richmond  
☐ St. Louis  
☐ Salt Lake City  
☐ San Antonio  
☐ San Diego  
☐ San Francisco  
☐ San Juan  
☐ Savannah  
☐ Seattle  
☐ Springfield

☐ Tampa  
☐ Washington Field  
☐ Quantico

TO LEGAT:

☐ Bern  
☐ Bonn  
☐ Buenos Aires  
☐ London  
☐ Manila  
☐ Mexico, D.F.  
☐ Ottawa  
☐ Paris  
☐ Rome  
☐ Rio de Janeiro  
☐ Santo Domingo  
☐ Tokyo

Date 1/8/69

RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, also known as -  
FUGITIVE, W.F. 447, I.O. 4239; RACIAL MATTERS  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY; UNLAWFUL FLIGHT  
TO AVOID CONFINEMENT - ASSAULT WITH  
INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER

☐ For information    ☐ Retention optional    ☐ For appropriate action    ☐ Surep, by \_\_\_\_\_  
☐ The enclosed is for your information. If used in a future report, ☐ conceal all sources, ☐ paraphrase contents.  
☐ Enclosed are corrected pages from report of SA \_\_\_\_\_ dated \_\_\_\_\_

Remarks:

Enclosed are ten smooth finished copies of the photograph of Leroy Eldridge Cleaver. The San Francisco Division is the office of origin in this investigation. San Francisco Office file number is 88-12329.

Enc. 10  
Bufile 100-447251  
Urfile

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-12-2009 BY AUC

MLT/EHT



LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

FBI No. 214,830 B

2 4  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

FBI No. 214,830 B

INTERSTATE FLIGHT - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO  
COMMIT MURDER

F.P.C.: 24 L 13 U OOM 19

1 2 U OOI

Photograph on left taken 1966, others taken 1968

**DESCRIPTION**

AGE: 33, born August 31, 1935, Little Rock, Arkansas

HEIGHT: 6'2"

EYES: brown

WEIGHT: 185 to 195 pounds

COMPLEXION: medium

BUILD: medium

RACE: Negro

HAIR: black

NATIONALITY: American

OCCUPATIONS: author, clerk, cook, laborer, lithographer, magazine editor,  
reporter, writer

SCARS AND MARKS: numerous pock scars on back

REMARKS: sometimes wears small gold earring in pierced left ear lobe

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-12-20 BY 60309 AUC  
EHL/EHL



LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
FBI No. 214,830 B

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

FBI No. 214,830 B

INTERSTATE FLIGHT - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO  
COMMIT MURDER

F.P.C.: 24 L 13 U OOM 19

I 2 U 001

Photograph ~~not taken 1966~~, others taken 1968

**DESCRIPTION**

AGE: 33, born August 31, 1935, Little Rock, Arkansas

HEIGHT: 6'2"

EYES: brown

WEIGHT: 185 to 195 pounds

COMPLEXION: medium

BUILD: medium

RACE: Negro

HAIR: black

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OCCUPATIONS: author, clerk, cook, laborer, lithographer, magazine editor,  
reporter, writer

SCARS AND MARKS: numerous pock scars on back

REMARKS: sometimes wears small gold earring in pierced left ear lobe



VIA TELETYPE

DEC 18 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson.....  
Mr. DeLoach.....  
Mr. Mohr.....  
Mr. Bishop.....  
Mr. Casper.....  
Mr. Callahan.....  
Mr. Conrad.....  
Mr. Felt.....  
Mr. Gale.....  
Mr. Rosen.....  
Mr. Sullivan.....  
Mr. Tavel.....  
Mr. Trotter.....  
Tele. Room.....  
Miss Holmes.....  
Miss Gandy.....

WA 05

313PM URGENT 12-18-68 JLW

TO DIRECTOR 100-447251 MIAMI AND SAN FRANCISCO 88-12329 (PLAINTEXT)

MIAMI AND SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON

ATT. DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-161321 2P

SUPVR.

✓ *not 1/2 39*  
*WF 447* *And*  
ER  
LEROY ALDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUG, RACIAL MATTERS - BPP,  
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, WANTED  
FLYER FOUR FOUR SEVEN (OO - SAN FRANCISCO).

REBUREAU TEL TO ALL SAC'S TWELVE TEN SIXTYEIGHT.

FOR MIAMI, AUTHORIZED COMPLAINT FILED DECEMBER TEN  
LAST BY SA [REDACTED] BEFORE USC, SAN FRANCISCO,  
CALIFORNIA, CHARGING SUBJECT WITH VIOLATION TITLE EIGHTEEN,  
USC, SECTION ONE ZERO SEVEN THREE, BOND RECOMMENDED AS  
ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS, SECURITY OR CASH.

b6  
b7C

A REVIEW OF NYO FILE REFLECTED THAT OCTOBER TWELVE  
LAST, SUBJECT APPEARED AT A RALLY FOR BPP IN NYC, AS  
REPORTED BY [REDACTED] RELIABLE.

END PAGE ONE

b2  
b7D

XEROX

REC 54

DEC 18, 1968

TELETYPED TO:

JAN 6 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 04-06-2006 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/DCG/EHL

PAGE TWO

SUBSEQUENT TO RALLY, SUBJECT WAS ESCORTED TO A LATE MODEL  
CAR WITH A FEMALE DRIVER AND DRIVEN AWAY. VEHICLE BORE  
NEW YORK LICENSE [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

RECORDS OF MOTOR VEHICLE DIVISION, ALBANY, NEW YORK,  
REFLECT INSTANT LICENSE LISTED TO ONE [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

INVESTIGATION AT THAT ADDRESS REFLECTS [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

MIAMI CONTACT [REDACTED] AND ASCERTAIN IF HE WAS  
OWNER OF INSTANT VEHICLE IN OCTOBER LAST, IF SO ATTEMPT  
TO DETERMINE IDENTITY OF FEMALE WHO PICKED UP SUBJECT  
AT RALLY AND INTERVIEW FOR INFORMATION REGARDING  
WHEREABOUTS OF SUBJECT.

b6  
b7C

END

HWL R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

cc Mr. Sullivan

J.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

DEC 18 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC

FBI CHICAGO

553PM URGENT 12-18-68 TAB

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251) BIRMINGHAM (157-3605)

FROM CHICAGO (88-12443)(P)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER- FUGITIVE; RM-BPP; UFAC- ASSAULT

WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, OO SAN FRANCISCO.

RE BIRMINGHAM TELS DECEMBER SIXTEEN AND SEVENTEEN, LAST.

b6  
b7C

END

MKA

FBI WASH DC

REC 54

DEC 24 1968

XEROX

DEC 18 1968

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

100-447251-235

*[Handwritten signature]*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-13-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

FBI

Date: December 17, 1968

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via -AIRTEL AIRMAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)  
  
FROM : SAC, SEATTLE (157-843) (P)  
  
SUBJECT : LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP  
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO MURDER

Referral/Direct

Re Bureau airtel to San Francisco dated 12/10/68.

On \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ advised that the information as stated  
in the above referenced airtel as being included within the  
\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Intelligence Unit, Seattle Police  
Department, on December 11, 1968, advised \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7C

② - Bureau (RM)  
2 - San Francisco (100-55520) (RM)  
2 - Seattle  
SER:kd1  
(6)

6 DEC 19 1968

C. C. Bishop

54 JAN 2 - 1969

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7C

SE 157-843

[REDACTED]

that his records revealed that during November 1968, he received information from both his own sources in Seattle, Washington, as from the Seattle Office of the FBI that members of the Black Panther Party had been briefed on the hijacking of airplanes out of the United States to Cuba if a member of the Black Panther Party should become a fugitive. [REDACTED] continued by stating that at approximately this time his office also received information that members of the Black Panther Party throughout the nation could conceivably hide a fugitive from justice amongst themselves in their own communities. [REDACTED] also stated that he had received information that ELDRIDGE CLEAVER was supposed to surrender himself to the California authorities but that CLEAVER stated he would not surrender and therefore would become a fugitive.

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

b6  
b7C  
b7D

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

# Memorandum

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-13-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. DeLoach *DeLoach* DATE: December 12, 1968

FROM : J. H. Gale *JHG*

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, also known as  
FUGITIVE  
RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY;  
UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID CONFINEMENT - ASSAULT  
WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER  
OFFICE OF ORIGIN: SAN FRANCISCO

There is attached herewith for approval a proposed  
Wanted Flyer on Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, the Black Panther Party  
leader who is being sought on the basis of unlawful flight  
warrant issued on December 10, 1968, at San Francisco,  
California.

An intensive investigation is being conducted  
throughout the country to locate Cleaver who has stated that  
he would rather die than return to prison.

Fifty copies of the Wanted Flyer should be forwarded  
to all offices airmail, special delivery. Regular allotments  
should thereafter be disseminated.

Enc. *act by Mark Sen*

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. Bishop
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Gale
- 1 - Mr. Eddy
- 1 - Mr.

b6  
b7C

CWH:egm  
(9)

57 JAN 3 1969

✓ 100/- 447251 237

*AK*  
*4*

*RA*  
*INT. SEC*

*Printed & mailed 12/13 + 12/16*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-13-2005 BY 60119 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

VIA TELETYPE

DEC 12 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. DeLoach ✓  
Mr. Mohr ✓  
Mr. Bishop ✓  
Mr. Casper ✓  
Mr. Callahan ✓  
Mr. Conrad ✓  
Mr. Felt ✓  
Mr. Gale ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Sullivan ✓  
Mr. Tavel ✓  
Mr. Trotter ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Miss Holmes ✓  
Miss Gandy ✓

WA 3

NK 1

1232 PM URGENT 12-12-68 JLW

TO DIRECTOR 100-447251 SAN FRANCISCO 100-55520 AND NEWARK

SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON

(CODE)

~~FROM NEW YORK~~ ATT. DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-161321 2P

b6  
b7C

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE, RACIAL MATTERS - BPP,

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER (OO - SAN FRANCISCO)

UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID CONFINEMENT

ADVISED

END PAGE ONE

TELETYPED TO:

FEB 20 1969

56 JAN 7 1969

DEC

1968

MR. DELOACH FOR THE DIRECTOR

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D



VIA TELETYPE  
DEC 20 1968  
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

WA 4

225 PM URGENT 12-20-68 JLW

TO DIRECTOR 100-447251 AND SAN FRANCISCO 88-12329 (CODE)

SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON

ATT. DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION

FROM NEW YORK 100-161321 1P

WF# 447  
I#4239

*[Handwritten signature]*  
SUPVR

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUG; RACIAL MATTERS - BPP,

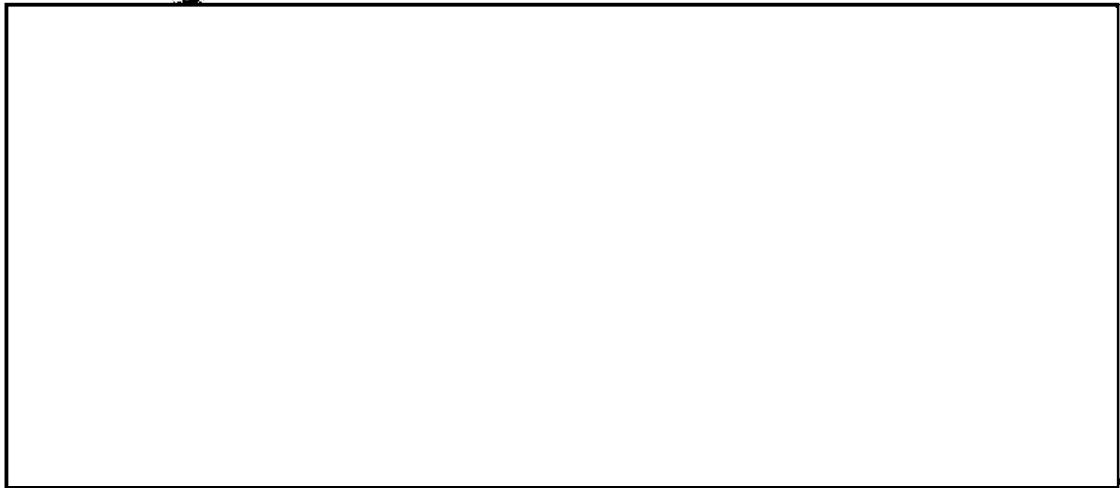
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, WF FOUR FOUR

SEVEN (OO - SAN FRANCISCO)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 04-06-2006 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/DCG/EHL

CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE, RELIABLE IN THE PAST, ADVISED

INSTANT DATE THAT ELDRIDGE CLEAVER REPORTEDLY



b7D

ADMINISTRATIVE

REC-76

DEC 24 1968

SOURCE REFERRED TO IS

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

EN 54 JAN 6 - 1969

RMC R RELAY TELETYPE TO:

FBI WASH DC

SF

DEC 1968

XEROX

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

*[Handwritten signature]*

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATION SECTION

DEC 18 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-13-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

FBI BIRMGHAM

156 PM URGENT 12-18-68 JGA

TO DIRECTOR , ATLANTA, CHICAGO AND SAN FRANCISCO

FROM BIRMINGHAM 157-3605

✓ IO# 4239  
WF# 447  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE; RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH  
INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER; OO SAN FRANCISCO.

RE BIRMINGHAM TELETYPE DECEMBER SEVENTEEN, SIXTYEIGHT,  
SUMMARIZING INTERVIEWS WITH [REDACTED]

BOTH OF [REDACTED]

TODAY BUAGENTS INTERVIEWED [REDACTED] BIRMINGHAM,

[REDACTED] WHO WAS RELATIVELY  
COOPERATIVE. SUMMARY OF HIS INFORMATION IS AS FOLLOWS:

END PAGE ONE

57 JAN 7 1969

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATION SECTION  
DEC 16 1968  
TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

FBI WASH DC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-13-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

FBI SPRNGFLD

143PM URGENT 12/16/68 MAL

TO DIRECTOR AND ATLANTA, BIRMINGHAM, CHICAGO, NEWYORK,  
AND SAN FRANCISCO  
FROM SPRINGFIELD (157-1105)

LERROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER-FUGITIVE. RM-BPP; UFAC-ASSAULT  
WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER. OO SF.

RE BIRMINGHAM TELETYPE DECEMBER SIXTEEN INSTANT.

b6  
b7C

END

LVXX LCC

FBI WASH DC

P

DEC

1968

JAN 3 1969

CC-MR. SULLIVAN

106-447251-24  
12 DEC 18 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 04-06-2006 BY 60309 AUC

F B I

Date 12/20/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

(Priority)

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-44725)  
FROM : SAC SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) (P)  
SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE  
WF #447  
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT  
TO COMMIT MURDER  
(OO: SF)

Remyairtel 12/19/68.

DAILY SUMMARY

[REDACTED]

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED] source regarding person  
resembling subject reportedly at [REDACTED]  
advises that the Negro male he mentioned [REDACTED] does not fit  
CLEAVER's description.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED] in the Big Sur area,  
advised that the Negro male caretaker who is the only negro  
known to have been seen at [REDACTED] residence is definitely  
not CLEAVER.

b6  
b7C

On 12/20/68 [REDACTED] San  
Francisco, advised that a reliable informant has stated that  
the BPP has ordered 7,000 face masks which are likeness  
of ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and that deliveries are beginning. This  
information not substantiated by any other sources to date in  
San Francisco.

b6  
b7C

REC 11

3 - Bureau  
2 - San Francisco  
(1 - 100-55520)

DEC 24 1968

RCD:ab  
(5)

C. C. Bishop

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7C

SF 88-12329  
RCD:ab

b2  
b7D

On 12/20/68 [ ] reported the BPP are requesting underground news media to publish large photographs of ELDRIDGE CLEAVER with the caption "Eldridge Cleaver Welcome Here" and to urge readers to display these placards in their windows.

Agents will cover Alameda County Superior Court 12/23/68 re subject's scheduled appearance on pending charges.

Contacts with militants and other associates in attempt to locate subject continue.

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

TELETYPE  
DEC 11 1968  
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

WA 01

344PM DEFERRED 12/12/68 CMC

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251)

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520) (88-12329) CODE

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER; RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER.

RE BUTEL TO SAN FRANCISCO DECEMBER ELEVEN REGARDING INFORMATION FROM LEGAT, MEXICO INDICATING SUBJECT MAY HAVE BEEN SEEN WEEK OF NOVEMBER ELEVEN IN VERACRUZ.

b2  
b7D [REDACTED] ADVISED THIS DATE SUBJECT AT BLACK PANTHER PARTY HEADQUARTERS NOVEMBER TEN, ELEVEN AND TWELVE, LAST.

END

WASH DC

REC-104

100-447251-243

Autel to Mex City  
12-13-68  
JRF:egm  
DIV. 9

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 04-06-2006 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/DCG/EHL

TELETYPE TO

XEROX

DEC 1968

56 JAN 8 1969 CC. MR. SULLIVAN

21 1968  
[REDACTED]  
b6  
b7C

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATION SECTION

DEC 19 1968

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC

FBI CHICAGO

428PM URGENT 12-19-68 CNS

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251) AND BIRMINGHAM (157-3605)

FROM CHICAGO (88-12443) 2PGS.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-13-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE; RM - BPP; UFAC -  
ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

RE CHICAGO TELETYPE TO DIRECTOR AND BIRMINGHAM, DECEMBER  
EIGHTEEN LAST.



b6  
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2516-244

b6  
b7c

END PAGE ONE

RACIAL INT. SECT.

54 JAN 16 1969



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIEDDATE 12-13-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
INSTRUCTIONS - reverse side  
TAM/MLT/EHL

TO : Director, FBI (Att: Special Investigation Division)

DATE: 12/10/68

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (ORI)

☒ Initial SubmissionSUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka -  
FUGITIVE☐ Supplements data previously furnished re following  
individual by FD-65 dated \_\_\_\_\_

UFAC - PV (ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER)

In order that a fugitive index card may be prepared and information entered in NCIC without delay, the following  
information is furnished:

Name and aliases (NAM)				<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Armed and dangerous (MKE)	
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka. FUGITIVE Eldridge Cleaver PREPARED 12-12-68 by [signature]				<input type="checkbox"/> Suicidal tendencies	
Sex (SEX)	Race (RAC)	Birthplace (NAT)		Birthdate (DOB)	
M	N	Little Rock, Ark.		8/31/35	
Height (HGT)	Weight (WGT)	Hair (HAI)	Eyes	FBI#	
6'2"	185	Black	Brown	214 830 B	
Fingerprint classification				NCIC Fingerprint classification (FPC)	
24 L 13 U OOM 19 I 2 U OOI 15					
Other identifying number (MNU)		Scars, marks and other identifying remarks (MIS)			
CII #715185					
Social Security number (SOC)					
Operator's license number (OLN)		State (OLS)		Year expires (OLY)	
Offense charged (OFF) - UFACS - PV					
U. S. Code, Title and Section - T.18, S. 1073					
Warrant issued by U. S. Commissioner, San Francisco on 12/10/68 (DOW)					
Date PBV or bond default case referred to office _____					
Field office file # (OCA)		OO: (MIS)		Bufile# (MIS)	
88-12329		San Francisco			
LICENSE PLATE AND VEHICLE INFORMATION					
License plate # (LIC)		State (LIS)		Years expires (LIY)	
Vehicle identification # (VIN)		Year (VYR)		Make (VMA)	
		Model (VMO)		Style (VST)	
		Color (VCO)			
NCIC # (NIC)					
W010938395					

1-Bureau  
1-National Crime Information Center  
1-San Francisco  
RCD:ab

(NCIC)

DEC 22 1968

DEC 12 10 24 AM '68

# INSTRUCTIONS

REC'D - FUGITIVE  
FBI

Two copies of FD-65 should be submitted to the Bureau, an original marked for the attention of the Special Investigative Division and a green copy designated for NCIC.

FD-65 should be submitted immediately when a subject becomes a Bureau fugitive (including escaped Federal prisoners) except where subject wanted as a parole or conditional release violator or deserter. In these latter cases form letter should be submitted by office of origin 60 days after the date of the Bureau communication forwarding the case to the field office.

An original and green copy of a supplemental FD-65 should be submitted when additional pertinent information is obtained or there are changes in information previously furnished. When a supplemental FD-65 is submitted, only information added, changed or deleted need be shown except that the name of the fugitive and the field office file number must be shown in all instances.

Should the information added, changed, or deleted necessitate a title change, not previously reported, the caption of the FD-65 should be marked "changed" and the change explained on a separate page stapled to the FD-65.

Where information is being added or changed in any item other than "Name and Aliases" the new data is to be entered in the appropriate block and will automatically replace any information previously recorded therein. No reference to the information previously entered need be made.

Where information is being deleted from any item other than "Name and Aliases" the word "delete" is to be entered in the appropriate block and will automatically eliminate any information previously recorded.

Where a name or alias is being added, changed or deleted, such addition, change or deletion should be briefly identified in the "Name and Aliases" block.

1. **Name and Aliases (NAM)**-Include name and all aliases. Supplemental FD-65 necessary when there is a change in name or an alias is changed, added or deleted.
2. **Armed and Dangerous, Suicidal Tendencies (MKE)**-When initially reported on FD-65, basis for caution statement should appear in this block.
3. **Sex (SEX)**-Sex will be designated: M-Male; F-Female.
4. **Race (RAC)**-Race will be described by abbreviations used in the Uniform Crime Reporting Program, i.e., White-W; Negro-N; Indian-I; Chinese-C; Japanese-J; all other-O. Mexicans who are not definitely Indian or other non-white should be described as "W".
5. **Birthplace (NAT)**-Indicate city and state or if foreign born, city and country. Where multiple birthplaces are reported, list verified birthplace or that which appears most logical.
6. **Birth Date (DOB)**-Enter as month, day and year. Where multiple birth dates are reported, list verified birth date or that which appears most logical.
7. **Height (HGT)**-Express in feet and inches, i.e., 6'0".
8. **Weight (WGT)**-Express in pounds.
9. **Hair (HA)**-Color hair to be described as black-BK; brown-BR; blond or strawberry blond-BN; red or auburn-RD; white-WH; gray or partially gray-GY; sandy-SN; Bald-OO.
10. **Fingerprint Classification**-Set out FBI fingerprint classification if known.
11. **NCIC Fingerprint Classification (FPC)**-Do not use. This item is classified by a formula for computer usage.
12. **Other Identifying Number (MNU)**-Miscellaneous numbers may be entered with appropriate identifiers as shown below. The identifier should precede the number and be separated from the number by use of a hyphen.

AS - (Army Serial Number)  
NS - (Navy Serial Number)  
AF - (Air Force Serial Number)  
CG - (U. S. Coast Guard Number)  
SS - (Selective Service Number)  
VA - (Veterans Administration Claim Number)  
AR - (Alien Registration Number)  
MD - (Mariner's Document Number)  
MC - (Marine Corps Serial Number)  
PS - (Post Security Card Number)  
PP - (Passport Number)

Any other miscellaneous numbers, such as, arrest numbers, should be described.

13. **Social Security (SOC)**-List most recent Social Security Number known to be used by subject.
14. **Operator's License Number (OLN)**-Check with states of residence to obtain this number. List number believed to be used by subject.
15. **Warrant Issued on (DOW)**-In deserter cases the date subject absented himself should be entered in the space preceding "(DOW)."

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

b6  
b7C

TO :



*not (imp)*

DATE: 1 DEC 18 '68

FROM :

*les (imp)*

SUBJECT:

LEROY ELDRIDGE<sup>O</sup> CLEAVER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-13-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

The attached WANTED NOTICE has been received in the Records Branch, appropriately initialed, and indicated for file. By use of instant transmittal memorandum, all necessary recording and indexing will be accomplished. It is to be noted this form is for internal use only within the Records Branch, principally by the Routing Unit where bulky material not accompanied by memorandum is usually received.

The enclosure, if bulky and not usually filed with other papers in file, may be detached but this action should be clearly noted under the word "Enclosure." 100-447251-

Enc.

NOT RECORDED

1 DEC 18 1968

ENCLOSURE ATTACHED

ENCLOSURE

54 JAN 3 1969

*Handwritten initials and signature*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-12-2005 BY 60302 ADP  
DAM/MLT/EHL

100-447251-

ENCLOSURE

# WANTED BY THE FBI

**INTERSTATE FLIGHT - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER**  
**LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER**

FBI No. 214,830 B

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 02-13-2005 BY 60309 AUC



Photograph taken 1966



Photographs taken 1968

**Aliases:** Eldridge Cleaver, Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Jr.

## DESCRIPTION

**Age:** 33, born August 31, 1935, Little Rock, Arkansas  
**Height:** 6' 2"  
**Weight:** 185 to 195 pounds  
**Build:** Medium  
**Hair:** Black  
**Occupations:** Author, clerk, laborer, magazine editor, reporter, writer  
**Scars and Marks:** Numerous pock scars on back  
**Remarks:** Sometimes wears small gold earring in pierced left ear lobe

**Fingerprint Classification:** 24 L 13 U OOM 19

I 2 U OOI

## CRIMINAL RECORD

Cleaver has been convicted of assault with intent to commit murder, assault with a deadly weapon and possession of narcotics.

## CAUTION

CLEAVER ALLEGEDLY HAS ENGAGED POLICE OFFICERS IN GUN BATTLE IN THE PAST. CONSIDER ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

A Federal warrant was issued on December 10, 1968, at San Francisco, California, charging Cleaver with unlawful interstate flight to avoid confinement after conviction for assault with intent to commit murder (Title 18, U. S. Code, Section 1073).

**IF YOU HAVE ANY INFORMATION CONCERNING THIS PERSON, PLEASE NOTIFY ME OR CONTACT YOUR LOCAL FBI OFFICE. TELEPHONE NUMBERS AND ADDRESSES OF ALL FBI OFFICES LISTED ON BACK.**

Wanted Flyer 447  
December 13, 1968

00-SF  
100-447251  
FILE  
FBI

2

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
DIRECTOR  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20535  
TELEPHONE, NATIONAL 8-7117



## ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-13-2005 BY 50309 AUC

CITY	DATE	BUILDING	TELEPHONE
ALBANY, New York	12207	502 U. S. Post Office and Court House	518 465-7551
ALBUQUERQUE, New Mexico	87101	4303 Federal Office Building	505 CH 7-1555
ANCHORAGE, Alaska	99501	Room 204, Federal Building	272-6414
ATLANTA, Georgia	30303	275 Peachtree Street, N. E.	404 JA 1-3900
BALTIMORE, Maryland	21202	408 U. S. Post Office Building	301 LE 9-6700
BIRMINGHAM, Alabama	35203	Room 1400 - 2121 Building	205 322-7711
BOSTON, Massachusetts	02203	John F. Kennedy Federal Office Building	617 RI 2-5533
BUFFALO, New York	14202	400 U. S. Court House Building	716 856-7800
BUTTE, Montana	59701	400 Thornton Building	406 792-2304
CHARLOTTE, North Carolina	28202	1120 Jefferson Standard Life Building	704 333-4126
CHICAGO, Illinois	60604	Room 905, U. S. Court House & Federal Office Bldg	312 431-1333
CINCINNATI, Ohio	45202	415 U. S. Post Office & Court House Building	513 421-4310
CLEVELAND, Ohio	44199	3005 Federal Office Building	216 522-1400
COLUMBIA, South Carolina	29201	1529 Hampton Street	803 252-1911
DALLAS, Texas	75201	Room 200, 1810 Commerce Street	214 RI 1-1851
DENVER, Colorado	80202	Room 18218, Federal Office Building	303 222-5981
DETROIT, Michigan	48226	913 Federal Building & U. S. Court House	313 WO 5-2323
EL PASO, Texas	79901	202 U. S. Court House Building	915 533-7451
HONOLULU, Hawaii	96813	206 Dillingham Building	59546
HOUSTON, Texas	77002	6015 Federal Building & U. S. Court House	713 CA 8-1414
INDIANAPOLIS, Indiana	46207	1221 North Pennsylvania Street	317 632-6415
JACKSON, Mississippi	39201	Room 800 - First Federal Savings Building	601 948-5000
JACKSONVILLE, Florida	32202	414 U. S. Court House & Post Office Building	904 355-1401
KANSAS CITY, Missouri	64106	707 U. S. Court House Building	816 BA 1-6100
KNOXVILLE, Tennessee	37902	617 Walnut Street, Southwest	615 524-2721
LAS VEGAS, Nevada	89101	Room 2-011 Federal Office Building	702 385-1281
LITTLE ROCK, Arkansas	72201	215 U. S. Post Office Building	501 FR 2-3157
LOS ANGELES, California	90017	1340 West 6th Street	213 483-3551
LOUISVILLE, Kentucky	40202	Room 701, Bank of Louisville Building	502 583-3941
MEMPHIS, Tennessee	38103	841 Federal Office Building	901 525-7373
MIAMI, Florida	33137	3801 Biscayne Boulevard	305 379-2421
MILWAUKEE, Wisconsin	53202	735 U. S. Post Office, Cust. & Ct. House Bldg.	414 276-4684
MINNEAPOLIS, Minnesota	55401	392 Federal Building	612 FE 9-7861
MOBILE, Alabama	36602	520 Federal Building	205 438-3674
NEWARK, New Jersey	07101	U. S. Post Office & Court House Building	201 622-5613
NEW HAVEN, Connecticut	06510	510 The Trust Company Building	203 787-1217
NEW ORLEANS, Louisiana	70113	701 Loyola Avenue	504 522-4671
NEW YORK, New York	10021	201 East 69th Street	212 LE 5-7700
NORFOLK, Virginia	23510	420 U. S. Post Office & Court House Building	703 625-1631
OKLAHOMA CITY, Oklahoma	73118	5104 N. Francis Street	405 VI 2-7471
OMAHA, Nebraska	68102	1010 Federal Office Building	402 348-1210
PHILADELPHIA, Pennsylvania	19107	500 Widener Building	215 LO 3-5300
PHOENIX, Arizona	85013	244 West Osborn Road	602 CR 9-5511
PITTSBURGH, Pennsylvania	15222	1300 Federal Office Building	412 471-2000
PORTLAND, Oregon	97205	423 U. S. Court House Building	503 224-4181
RICHMOND, Virginia	23220	200 West Grace Street	703 644-2631
SACRAMENTO, California	95814	2020 J Street	916 441-1275
ST. LOUIS, Missouri	63103	2704 Federal Building	314 CH 1-5357
SALT LAKE CITY, Utah	84111	3203 Federal Building	801 EL 5-7521
SAN ANTONIO, Texas	78206	433 Federal Building	512 CA 5-6741
SAN DIEGO, California	92103	3211 Fifth Avenue	714 297-3361
SAN FRANCISCO, California	94102	450 Golden Gate Avenue, Box 36015	415 552-2155
SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico	00917	Pan Am Bldg., 255 Ponce deLeon Ave.	765-6000
SAVANNAH, Georgia	31405	5401 Paulsen Street	912 354-9911
SEATTLE, Washington	98104	1015 Second Avenue	206 MA 2-0460
SPRINGFIELD, Illinois	62701	421 South Sixth Street	217 522-9675
TAMPA, Florida	33602	Room 610, Federal Office Building	813 228-7661
WASHINGTON, D. C.	20535	506 Old Post Office Building	202 393-7100

Telephone or telegraph the Special Agent in Charge at the above address.

(4-17-68)



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-13-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

-----  
Official Business

POSTAGE AND FEES PAID  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

**FIRST CLASS MAIL**

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-13-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

SAC, San Francisco (88-12329)

December 18, 1968

Director, FBI

①  
**LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka, FUGITIVE  
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT  
MURDER**

☒ Enclosed is information extracted from subject's identification record which may be of lead value. It is essential that any discrepancies be resolved through investigation in order to set forth only the most current description in future communications.

☐ Enclosed is information extracted from the identification record of an individual who may or may not be identical with subject. It is desired that you conduct appropriate investigation at an early date to determine whether these individuals are identical. The results of this investigation should be promptly submitted to the Bureau by letter marked for the attention of the Special Investigative Division, and should be included in the next investigative report from your office. In the event it is determined this individual is not identical with your subject, endeavor to promptly develop additional data that will identify your subject with a fingerprint record.

☐ Enclosed are data supplementing that previously furnished your office.

☐ A search of the name files of the Identification Division did not disclose a fingerprint record for the above-named fugitive. Your office should endeavor to develop any additional data that will identify this individual with a fingerprint record. A copy of fingerprints, if available from any source, would be of material assistance. As complete a description as possible, together with any aliases that might have been used by the subject also should be obtained when interviewing relatives, acquaintances, and employers of the fugitive. Information concerning any enlistment in the Army, Navy, Air Force, Marine Corps, or Coast Guard Services of the United States, should, of course, be procured concerning this individual. This matter should be pursued vigorously.

☒ Signature available. ☐ Signature not available.

☐ Photographs and negative transmitted herewith. ☐ No photograph available in identification record. Endeavor to obtain and forward same to Identification Division.

☒ No photograph is being furnished as subject's latest photograph will appear on Identification Orders being issued 12-18-68.

☐ Washington Field Office ☐ Indianapolis Office ☐ San Antonio Office is requested to:

☐ Conduct appropriate service search(es) and advise office of origin.  
☐ Obtain and forward to Identification Division copy of service prints if available.

Enc(4)

1-Fugitive Supervisor, (enclosures 2)  
1-NCIC, (enclosure)

Jas 115 Jan

(6)

NOT RECORDED

19 DEC 19 1968

61

MAIL ROOM

TELETYPE UNIT

JAN 6 1969

MAILED 24  
DEC 18 1968  
COMM-FBI

100-447351

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-13-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

Re: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka, FUGITIVE  
UNAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT  
MURDER

The following is a summary prepared by FBI Identification  
Division of descriptive data appearing in FBI # 214 830 B:

Sex	Male
Race	Negro
Height	Approximately 6'2"
Weight	195 pounds, June, 1968
Build	Large
Hair	Black
Complexion	Dark
Eyes	Brown
Dates of Birth	August 31, 1933; August 13, 1935; August 31, 1935
Place of Birth	Little Rock, Arkansas
Scars and Marks	Numerous pock scars on back and torso
Occupations	Writer, reporter, magazine worker, employed by Ramparts Magazine, San Francisco, California, June, 1968, April, 1968; laborer, clerk
Addresses	850 Oak Street, San Francisco, California, June, 1968; Vacaville, California, April, 1968; Los Angeles, California, November, 1957; 1277 West 25th Street, Los Angeles, California, November, 1957
Relative	Mrs. Kathleen Cleaver, (Wife), as appearing on fingerprint card, Sheriff's Office, Oakland, California April, 1968
Fingerprint Classification	
	24 L 13 U OOM 19 I 2 U OOI
NCIC Fingerprint Classification	
	241617MM191114181117
Remark	Subject reportedly a member of the Black Panther Organization ( as appearing on fingerprint card from Sheriff's Office Oakland, California ), April, 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

FBI

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 04-06-2006 BY 60309 AUC

Date: 12/18/68

Transmit the following in TAM/DCG/EHL

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTELAIR MAIL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)  
 FROM : SAC SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) (P)  
 SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE  
 WF #447  
 RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT  
 TO COMMIT MURDER  
 (OO: SF)

Remyairtel 12/17/68.

DAILY AIRTEL SUMMARY

[redacted]  
 advised he last saw subject night of 11/21/68 at CLEAVER's defense fund meeting at California Hall, San Francisco. He has had no contact with subject or information regarding him since that date. [redacted] advised he has no knowledge as to subject's location and prefers not to be placed in the position of knowing. He admitted, however, that it would be his duty to advise the FBI should he learn of CLEAVER's whereabouts. He opined that if CLEAVER is still in the United States, he will appear at Alameda County, Calif., on 12/23/68 to face pending charges as both he and [redacted] feel that subject can beat pending charges.

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New Haven source advises subject visited New York City [redacted] prior to September, 1968.

b6  
b7C

3 - Bureau  
 2 - San Francisco  
 (1 - 100-55520)

RCD:ab  
 (5)

DEC 19 1968

DEC 20 1968

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b7C

Approved: 516 JAN 1969 Special Agent in Charge

Sent M Per Per

SF 88-12329

RCD:ab

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C

[REDACTED]  
Subject's [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED], states last saw subject at Los Angeles rally  
11/3/68, last heard about him [REDACTED]

BOBBY SEALE, Chairman, BPP, refused to submit to  
interview at Oakland.

b2  
b7D

[REDACTED] advises no recent information regarding  
subject or wife.

Contacts with relatives, militants, and other associates  
unproductive.

Investigation to locate and interview relatives,  
militants, and other associates continues.

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

12-23-68

PLAINTEXT

TELETYPE

URGENT

TO SAC BIRMINGHAM (157-3605)

FROM DIRECTOR FBI (100-447251)

REC 13

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, FUGITIVE, WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, RM - BPP,  
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, OO: SF (88-12329)

REBHTEL CONCERNING TOLL CALL CHECK.

AUTHORITY GRANTED FOR BIRMINGHAM TO MAKE REQUESTED TOLL CALL  
CHECK PROVIDING SUCH DONE WITH FULL SECURITY. INSURE INFORMATION  
OBTAINED USED FOR INVESTIGATIVE PURPOSES ONLY AND BE SELECTIVE IN  
SETTING OUT LEADS BASED ON SUCH INFORMATION.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-13-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

DEC 23 1968

TELETYPE

b6  
b7C  
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NOTE: Subject Cleaver, Minister of Information, Black Panther  
Party, is being sought for unlawful flight to avoid confinement  
following the revocation of his parole by California authorities

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Since no Federal grand jury is currently  
sitting in Birmingham by which toll call records may be subpoenaed,  
authority being granted to check such records through Birmingham  
It is recommended such be approved.

JRF:mjg  
(54)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATION SECTION

DEC 20 1968

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-13-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
FBI WASH DC

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI BIRMGHAM

2:47PM 12-20-68 URGENT AMB

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251)

FROM BIRMINGHAM 157-3605

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE; UFAC, ASSAULT WITH INTENT  
TO COMMIT MURDER.

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b7D

AIR MAIL COPIES CHICAGO AND SAN FRANCISCO.

ARMED AND DANGEROUS. REC 13 EX-113

END

BGM

FBI WASH DC

DEC 24 1968

5/6  
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

1 - Mr. C. D. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. J. H. Gale  
1 - Mr. T. W. Bishop

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 12-24-63

b6  
Fib7C

1 - Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. [redacted]  
1 - Mr. J. G. Deegan  
1 - Mr. [redacted]

SUBJECT:

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE  
UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID CONFINEMENT -  
ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER  
RACIAL MATTERS - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

00-SF

ENT b6  
b7C

This reports results of contact with [redacted]  
[redacted] Black Panther Party (BPP) in Oakland, California, by a  
Houston racial informant. This informant has in the past established  
good rapport with Eldridge Cleaver and other top BPP leaders.

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[redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

The informant said the BPP is strictly a military-type organization and the BPP top echelon is not to associate with rank and file members. It is the informant's opinion that rank and file members have no knowledge of Cleaver's whereabouts and very likely only Cleaver's wife, [redacted] have such knowledge. The informant also gained the impression that BPP leaders feel their organization has been completely infiltrated by law enforcement agencies.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

It is apparent the BPP has taken extreme measures to hide and protect Cleaver. Our racial informants will continue to be utilized wherever possible in their attempts to locate this individual.

## ACTION:

For information. This same informant [redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[redacted] We will continue to keep you advised of all pertinent developments. 100-447251-248

100-447251

ERS:jkb  
(8)

54 JAN 1 4 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-13-2005 BY 60309 AUC

REC-51 DEC 30 1968

RACIAL SECT.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED **FBI**

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-13-2005 BY 60309 AUC Date: 12/24/68

TAM/MLT/EHL

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTELAIR MAIL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-44725)

FROM SAC SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE

WF #447

RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT

TO COMMIT MURDER

(OO: SF)

DAILY SUMMARY

Investigation, Chicago, Ill., reflects [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED] located at his place of employment, [REDACTED] Chicago, where he is employed as a [REDACTED] stated he has not seen the subject for over a year and last talked with him on the phone on a long distance call from California about a year ago. [REDACTED] states he has no idea of the whereabouts of subject and that if he knew, he would not divulge that information.

b6  
b7CARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS

3 - Bureau  
2 - San Francisco  
(1 - 100-55520)

RCD:ab  
(5)

100-113

100-447251-249

14 DEC 26 1968

b6  
b7C

Approved

36 JAN 8 1969

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

M

Per

**ENCIPHERED**

~~RACIAL~~ ~~NO~~ SECT

LA 88-15756

PAGE TWO

[REDACTED] b6  
[REDACTED] b7C  
[REDACTED] TATED THIS IS THE FIRST HE HEARD OF ANY b7D  
NEGROES BEING AROUND PAULING'S RESIDENCE; THAT PAULING HAS  
REPORTEDLY BEEN SPENDING WEEKENDS AT HOME AND WEEK DAYS AT  
UC, SANTA BARBARA.

[REDACTED] HAS MADE NO INQUIRY RE ABOVE LEAD. b6  
b7C  
b7D

FOR INFORMATION OF SAN FRANCISCO, PAULING APPARENTLY  
IDENTICAL WITH LINUS CARL PAULING, SM DASH C, SAN FRANCISCO  
FILE ONE HUNDRED DASH FOUR ZERO EIGHT FOUR FIVE, LOS ANGELES  
FILE ONE HUNDRED DASH THREE FOUR FOUR SEVEN ZERO, BUFILE  
ONE HUNDRED DASH THREE FIVE THREE FOUR ZERO FOUR. PAULING  
IS PRIOR LOS ANGELES RI-A SUBJECT AND TWO TIME NOBEL PRIZE WINNER. SAN  
FRANCISCO IN POSSESSION OF BACKGROUND RE PAULING.

SAN FRANCISCO, AT GORDA, CALIFORNIA: CONTACT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] FOR ADDITIONAL DESCRIPTIVE DATA OF PERSON OBSERVED b6  
AT MAIL BOX AND CONDUCT APPROPRIATE INVESTIGATION. b7C  
b7D

ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

END

BXC

VXC FBI WASH DC

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

F B I

Date: 12/19/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM: SAC, HOUSTON (157-1477)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BLACK PANTHER PARTY

REC-94

b6  
b7C

ReButel, 12/10/68 authorizing [redacted]  
to proceed to Oakland, California in an effort to obtain  
information of value as to the whereabouts of subject.

For the information of the Bureau, [redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7Db6  
b7C  
b7D

[redacted] advised that the Panthers believe that  
CIA and FBI is using all available means to determine the  
location of ELDRIDGE CLEAVER and are using microphones,  
are using helicopters, all types of automobiles for sur-  
veillance in order to follow Panther leaders in efforts

b2  
b7D

C. C. Bishop

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - San Francisco (RM)
- 3 - Houston

b2  
b7D

(1 - 157-1477)

(1 - [redacted])  
(1 - [redacted])DCS/sjm  
(8)

REC-94

100-447251-251

12 DEC 23 1968

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3-1-82 BY SP5RJA/vk

Approved: [redacted]

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

P

Special Agent in Charge

b6  
b7C

1cc 8/4/7

HO 157-1477

to locate CLEAVER [redacted] the source that he believes all telephones in the Panther office are bugged and as a result no interviews of substance are conducted in the Panther office and all strategy talks are currently being conducted in automobiles. [redacted] stated to the source that he believed that [redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[redacted] also remarked that no Black Panther would have to go back to prison.

[redacted]  
however, revealed no information concerning ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. [redacted]

[redacted]  
opinion that Ramparts magazine is associated with the Black Panther paper if in fact they do not publish it themselves. Source advised that there appears to be a close association between the Ramparts group and the Black Panthers and the Ramparts group is always supporting the Panthers both in their periodicals and financially. He stated also that the book written by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER "Soul on Ice" was in fact edited and printed by Ramparts in California. Source advised that the Panther organization is run similar to a military organization in that the top echelon do not associate with the rank and file. He stated that this control and the orders put out by the leadership is closely followed by the rank and file [redacted]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[redacted], he was unable to develop any information concerning CLEAVER even though [redacted]

Source advised that it was his firm opinion that the rank and file members of the BPP have no idea as to the



HO 157-1477

whereabouts of CLEAVER. He stated that it is his belief

[redacted]  
are very likely the only individuals who have knowledge of CLEAVER's current whereabouts. Source advised that he

[redacted]  
believed that this might possibly elicit some information of pertinence about CLEAVER; however none was obtained from

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[redacted] From the conversation source had with [redacted]  
[redacted] it is the source's opinion that the Panther leadership are convinced that the Panther organization is at this time completely infiltrated by law enforcement agencies and as a result no information of pertinence is ever given to the rank and file membership. He stated that although he had no specific facts to substantiate his belief he is firmly convinced that the Peace and Freedom Party which is a white left wing group and which group backed ELDRIDGE CLEAVER for president is a financial supporter of the BPP; however, they are merely being used to obtain money and support and are in no position to obtain information pertinent to the whereabouts of ELDRIDGE CLEAVER merely because they are white and the Panthers do not trust any white people.

b6  
b7C  
b7D

The above information furnished by [redacted] is intelligence data and is not information believed proper dissemination material and as such no LHM is being prepared relative to the above information, UACB. Detailed expenses incurred by the informant will be furnished the Bureau in a subsequent communication under informant's caption.

b2  
b7D

For the additional information of the Bureau, [redacted]  
[redacted] advised on [redacted]

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

B. APR 6 1967



HO 157-1477

member of the Black Panther Party (BPP) and worked on the  
[redacted] Informant is hopeful that as  
[redacted] he can determine information  
of value relative to the BPP and perhaps determine the  
whereabouts of LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER (FUGITIVE), Minister  
of Information of the BPP. Informant intends to [redacted]  
[redacted]

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

John Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D.C. 20535  
Department of Justice

b6  
b7C

File No. 1 H

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-13-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

December 14, 1968

cal  
/

Rm 2-

Dear Mr. Hoover,

On December 11, 1968 a TWA airplane was hijacked. The FBI though that Eldridge Cleaver was aboard the plane. I would like to know if he was aboard the plane? I hope that he wasn't for he was very much wanted by almost every police agency.

I personally think that he will come back to the U.S. for he is a negro militant. Tell me is he a communist? I also think that all communists should get out of our country because with all these riots, school disorders and other things going on. Is the Mafia strong as it was in the 30's? You don't hear much about them any more. In Life magazine it has a story about the Mafia giving payoffs to police officers. I think that it is a crime that these men of the Chicago Police Force.

REC 101

I would like to know if I could have a list of the 9 divisions and there and Assistant Directors of the Bureau. I would also like to know if you have a FBI seal, I asked Newark Field Office and [redacted] said that he didn't have one a seal. So I'm asking you if you have one. I hope you and all the employees of the FBI have a happy Holiday. Thank you very much

Yours truly,

b6  
b7C

100-4472512  
DEC 24 1968  
b6  
b7C  
CONFIDENTIAL

Heroy Eldridge CLEAVER

signed

ml/ack  
12/23/68  
JDS/ppe

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-13-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

December 23, 1968

100-447251 352  
Mr. [REDACTED]  
[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

Dear [REDACTED]

Your letter of December 14th has been received.

Inasmuch as Eldridge Cleaver is being sought by the FBI,  
I am not at liberty to answer the question you have raised about him.

In regard to your other question, I am listing below the  
ten Assistant Directors and their Divisions:

C. Lester Trotter - Identification Division  
Joseph J. Casper - Training Division  
Nicholas P. Callahan - Administrative Division  
William S. Tavel - Files and Communications Division  
William C. Sullivan - Domestic Intelligence Division  
Alex Rosen - General Investigative Division  
Ivan W. Conrad - Laboratory Division  
Thomas E. Bishop - Crime Records Division  
James H. Gale - Special Investigative Division  
W. Mark Felt - Inspection Division

While I would like to comply with your request, I cannot  
send you a copy of our seal. However, I am enclosing some material  
about the FBI and you will find the FBI seal pictured on the back covers  
of these publications.

It is a pleasure to receive your message of Season's  
Greetings. My associates and I extend best wishes for a joyous Christmas  
and a New Year filled with every happiness.

Sincerely yours,  
J. Edgar Hoover

Enclosures (2)

57 JAN 13 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐  
1 - Newark - Enclosure

See NOTE Page Two.

Alson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Mr.

b6  
b7C

Enclosures (2)  
The Story of the FBI  
99 Facts About the FBI

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. In reference to Eldridge Cleaver, reply was coordinated with the General Investigative Division.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-18-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL  
Date: 12/27/68

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447250)  
FROM : SAC SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) (P)  
SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE  
WF #447  
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT  
TO COMMIT MURDER  
(OO: SF)

A source of the Houston Division has advised he recently observed two Negro males driving two vehicles which were tailgating each other. The driver of one definitely resembled photographs of subject. The license number on the lookalike vehicle is New Jersey [redacted] Leads have been set out for Newark to ascertain if registered owner identical.

Current credit check on subject at San Francisco reflects that the American Oil Co. made inquiry on 10/24/68. Lead set out to Chicago to check American Oil and place appropriate stop.

Contacts with militants and other sources continuing.

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

C.C. Sullivan  
3 - Bureau  
2 - San Francisco  
(1 - 100-55520)  
RCD:ab  
(5)

REC 27

100-447251-253

15 DEC 30 1968

51 JAN 13 1969

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-13-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

Date: 12/26/68

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-44725)  
FROM : SAC SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) (P)  
SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE  
WF #447  
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT  
TO COMMIT MURDER  
(OO: SF)

b6  
b7CDAILY SUMMARY

[ ] (PROB) has advised that the Panthers believe the FBI and CIA are using all available means to locate subject and are using various technical equipment. [ ] opinion that all telephones in Panther office are bugged and, therefore, all Panthers strategy talks are conducted in automobiles.

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

Source believes that the only individuals likely to have knowledge of subject's whereabouts [ ]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Investigation to date unsuccessful in identifying [ ]

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

1 DEC 28 1968

3 - Bureau  
2 - San Francisco  
(1 - 100-55520)  
RCD:ab  
(5)

C. C. - Bishop

FUG. SUP.

b6  
b7C

RACIAL ACT DEPT

Approved: [ ]

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M

Per [ ]

Special Agent in Charge

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 100-447251)

DATE: 12/19/68

SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520) -P

Cards UTD  
Cards Sent 00  
12/31/68SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPPALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-13-2005 BY 60309 AUC

Re: San Francisco FD-122, 6/28/68. TAM/MLT/EHL

☐ It is recommended that a Security Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.☒ The Security Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows (specify change only):

Name					
Aliases					
<input type="checkbox"/> Native Born <input type="checkbox"/> Naturalized <input type="checkbox"/> Alien					
<input type="checkbox"/> Communist <input type="checkbox"/> Socialist Workers Party <input type="checkbox"/> Miscellaneous (specify) _____					
Tab for Detcom	Date of birth	Place of birth	Race	Sex <input type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female	
Business Address, Name of Employing Concern and Address, Nature of Employment, and Union Affiliation, if any.					
Unknown					
Key Facility Data					
Geographical Reference Number _____ Responsibility _____					
Interested Agencies _____					
Residence Address					
Unknown					

## REGISTERED MAIL

- 2 - Bureau (RM)  
1 - San Francisco

FL/jr  
(3)

54 JAN 9 - 1969

NOT RECORDED

6 DEC 23 1968

b6  
b7C





In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

San Francisco, California  
December 19, 1968

BU 100-447251  
SF 100-55520

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

REFERENCE: San Francisco memorandum dated June 28, 1968.

Referenced communication contained subject's residence and/or employment address. A recent change has been determined and is being set forth below (change only specified):

Residence: Unknown

Employment: Unknown

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-13-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

1cc to SS 6 R/S  
12/24/68  
RMT/mt

FD-122 DETACHED

57 JAN 2 1969

100-447251  
NOT RECORDED  
6 DEC 23 1968

RACIAL

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-13-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL  
WA -----84-----

VIA TELETYPE  
NOV 29 1968  
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

603PM URGENT 11-29-68 MS

TO DIRECTOR (105-179625) & LOS ANGELES  
FROM SAN FRANCISCO (100-61667) 2P

CODED

HEMISPHERIC CONFERENCE TO END THE WAR IN VIETNAM. MONTREAL, CANADA.

IS - CANADA  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER. RACIAL MATTERS - BPP. POSSIBLE UFAC

b6  
b7C

REMYTEL ENTITLED "HEMISPHERIC CONFERENCE TO END THE WAR IN  
VIETNAM" AND SAN FRANCISCO PHONE CALL TO LOS ANGELES THIS DATE.

[REDACTED] COOPERATIVE SOURCE, [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

ADVISED FURTHER THAT THERE IS REPORT ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, MINISTER OF  
INFORMATION, BLACK PANTHER PARTY, AND FUGITIVE FROM JUSTICE, [REDACTED]  
LOS ANGELES ON CHARTERED AIRPLANE WITH ABOUT SIXTY OTHER PERSONS FOR  
MONTREAL, CANADA; PLANE HAVING BEEN CHARTERED BY [REDACTED]

BPP, ALSO REPORTED ON PLANE.

LOS ANGELES HAS ADVISED THAT MANIFEST OF FLIGHT WILL BE AVAILABLE  
AND NO INFORMATION THERE THAT CLEAVER [REDACTED] WAS ON FLIGHT TO MONTREAL.  
LOS ANGELES INFORMANT OR OTHER BUREAU INFORMANTS IN ATTENDANCE AT  
CONFERENCE SHOULD BE ABLE TO VERIFY THIS REPORT. (SUGGEST THAT  
OTTAWA BE INFORMED OF POSSIBILITY.)

b6  
b7C

END PAGE ONE

TELETYPED TO:

NOV 29 1968

57 JAN 2 1969

17 DEC 5 1968

NOT RECORDED  
145 DEC 5 1968

b6  
b7C

PAGE TWO

THIS OFFICE IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH USA'S OFFICE, SAN FRANCISCO, AND LOCAL AUTHORITIES REGARDING UFAC PROCESS FOR CLEAVER. USA HAS CONSULTED DEPARTMENT SEVERAL TIMES TODAY CONCERNING THIS MATTER AND STILL FEELS THAT THERE IS NOT SUFFICIENT REASON TO BELIEVE CLEAVER HAS LEFT STATE OF CALIFORNIA TO ISSUE PROCESS. THIS MATTER BEING CLOSELY FOLLOWED AND BUREAU WILL BE KEPT ADVISED.

CLEAVER CONSIDERED ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

SUBSEQUENT TO ABOVE, [REDACTED] ADVISES THAT

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED]  
END.

RDR

FBI WASH DC

cc. Sullivan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-13-2005 BY 2000 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

VIA TELETYPE  
DEC 24 1968  
ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

333PM URGENT 12-24-68 JGA

TO DIRECTOR AND CHICAGO

CHICAGO VIA WASHINGTON

FROM BIRMINGHAM

10# 4239

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE; WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, RM - BPP,  
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, OO: SAN FRANCISCO.

RE BIRMINGHAM TELETYPE TO BUREAU DATED DECEMBER TWENTY,  
LAST AND BUREAU TELETYPE TO BIRMINGHAM, DECEMBER TWENTYTHREE, LAST.

55

b6  
b7C  
b7D

TELETYPE TO JAN 3 1969

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

## Memorandum

Posted

TO : SAC, Albany (Your file 100-20283) DATE: 12/11/68

FROM : Director, FBI (Bufile and Serial 100-447251)  
Room No. Room 884  
6 & D

SUBJECT: Leroy Eldridge Chaner  
RM-BPD

☐ Post in file and  
destroy 0-1  
(For SOG use  
only)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-13-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

- ☐ 1. Bufiles indicate this case is delinquent. Give specific reason for delinquency.

☐

- ☒ 2. DATE ☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo ☐ submitted  
☐ report  
☒ letter ☐ 90-day progress letter ☐ will be submitted 12/24/68

Reporting employee \_\_\_\_\_

- ☐ 3. If valid reason exists for not submitting report at this time, state reason specifically and when report will be submitted \_\_\_\_\_

- ☐ 4. Status of ☐ Appeal ☐ Inquiry ☐ Investigation ☐ Prosecution  
☐ airtel ☐ letterhead memo  
☐ 5. Submit ☐ report ☐ 90-day progress letter by \_\_\_\_\_  
☐ letter

(Place reply hereon and return to Bureau. Note receipt and acknowledgment on top serial in case file.)

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
DEC 13 1968	
FBI - ALBANY	

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-13-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
JAN 11/81 LT/EHL

12/13/68

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit (detached)

*Telephonically  
cleared  
by Mr. [redacted]*

To: LEGAT, Mexico City

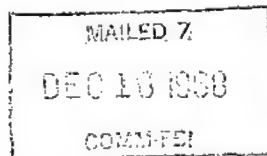
From: Director, FBI (105-187972)

UNKNOWN SUBJECT;  
NEGRO MALE OCCUPANT OF MICROBUS  
BEARING CALIFORNIA LICENSE OFB 843,  
WHO VISITED THE CUBAN CONSULATE,  
VERACRUZ, VERACRUZ, MEXICO,  
NOVEMBER 11, 1968,  
IS - CUBA; LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER,  
RM - BPP

Re Legat teletype dated 12/10/68 concerning  
location of Cleaver during week of November 11, 1968.

San Francisco informant advises Cleaver  
at Black Panther Party Headquarters on November 10,  
11 and 12, 1968.

JRF:egm  
(5)



100-447251-

NOT RECORDED  
46 DEC 31 1968

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

57 JAN 15 1969

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ORIGINAL FILED IN 105-187972-121

VIA TELETYPE

DEC 20 1968

ENCIPHERED

WA04

405 PM URGENT 12-20-68 TDB

TO DIRECTOR 100-447251 AND NEW YORK 100-161321

PLAINTEXT

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON

FROM MIAMI 157-2811 2P

LEROY ALDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE, RACIAL MATTERS -

BPP, UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, WANTED

FLYER FOUR FOUR SEVEN. OO--SAN FRANCISCO.

RE NEW YORK TELETYPE TO THE BUREAU, DECEMBER EIGHTEEN,  
SIXTYEIGHT.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7C  
b7D

END PAGE ONE

TELETYPED TO:

57 JAN 10 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-13-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-13-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

12/20/68

Airtel

1 - Mr. [redacted] (Rm 1517)  
1 - Mr. [redacted]

b6  
b7C

To: SACs San Francisco (157-1204)  
Omaha (157-403) (Enclosures - 2)  
Atlanta (Enclosures - 2)

From: Director, FBI (105-165706)

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RM

Reference is made to Bureau telephone calls to Omaha and San Francisco 12/18/68, concerning a letter postmarked 12/16/68, at Berkeley, California, which bore the return address of a [redacted] Omaha, Nebraska." One copy of the letter and its envelope are enclosed for San Francisco, Omaha and Atlanta.

b6  
b7C

On 12/18/68, the Omaha Office advised that it had determined from [redacted]

b6  
b7C

Atlanta is requested to obtain pertinent information concerning the address [redacted] [redacted] Furnish results to Bureau. If it appears logical to do so, leads should be set out on the information obtained regarding the [redacted] address.

b6  
b7C

Enclosures - 2

① - 88 - New (Eldridge Cleaver)

RMH:cng:llm  
(10)

100-7111-1  
NOT RECORDED  
202 DEC 30 1968

175  
64 JAN 14 1969

OUTLICKER YELLOW

ORIGINAL FILED IN

Airtel to SAC, San Francisco, et., al.  
RE: BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
105-165706

Referenced Bureau telephone call instructed San Francisco to alert appropriate authorities concerning the allegation that the Black Panther Party plans to bomb a Berkeley police station, power lines and to kill Governor Reagan.

No identifiable information was located in Bureau files concerning

b6  
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED FBI  
DATE 12-13-2005 BY 60309 AUC Dde: 12/23/68  
TAM/MLT/EHL

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-44225)  
FROM : SAC SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) (P)  
SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE  
WF #447  
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT  
TO COMMIT MURDER  
(OO: SF)

DAILY SUMMARY

On 12/23/68, the subject failed to appear as scheduled in the court of Judge FOLGER EMERSON, Department 5, Alameda County Superior Court, Oakland, Calif., on pending state charges. The court ordered the subject's \$50,000 bail be forfeited and issued a bench warrant for subject's arrest.

KATHLEEN CLEAVER was in the courtroom accompanied by approximately 4 members of the BPP, 2 of whom were scheduled for appearance in court that date. Following court action, KATHLEEN CLEAVER gave a press conference in the courthouse. She was observed leaving the court house accompanied by an unknown female and approximately 4 individuals believed to be BPP members. The unknown female was driving a 1968 gold Plymouth, 4 door hardtop, California License XKA 470, previously determined to be registered to the subject and wife. KATHLEEN CLEAVER and the 4 BPP members were passengers in this vehicle.

A confidential source of the New York Office has advised that subject reportedly [REDACTED]

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

3 - Bureau  
2 - San Francisco  
(1 - 100-55520)

REC-1

14 DEC 26 1968

54 JAN 10 1969

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

b6  
b7C

b7D

b6  
b7C

January 2, 1969  
SPECIAL INVESTIGATIVE DIVISION

Attached teletype reports information received from a highly confidential source of the New York Police Department concerning Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party who is currently being sought for unlawful flight to avoid confinement in connection with the revocation of his parole by the authorities of the State of California.

According to information obtained from this source, subject Cleaver may be out of the country.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-13-2005 BY 60300 JUC  
JRM/egm/EHL

*[Handwritten signatures and initials: "K", "J", "T", "B"]*

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. DeLoach	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Bishop	✓
Mr. Casper	✓
Mr. Callahan	✓
Mr. Conrad	✓
Mr. Felt	✓
Mr. Gale	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Sullivan	✓
Mr. Tavel	✓
Mr. Trotter	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Miss Holmes	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

VIA TELETYPE

JAN 2 1969

ENCIPHERED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-13-2005 BY 60309 ATC  
TAM/MLT/EHL  
236PM URGENT 1-2-68 JAM

TO DIRECTOR 100-447251 AND SAN FRANCISCO 88-12329 CODE  
ATT DOMESTIC INTELLIGENCE DIVISION  
SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON

FROM NEW YORK 100-161321 2P 2/9  
IO#423/7  
WF#4/4/7

Unlawful Flight to Avoid Confinement  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE; ~~WEAC~~-ASSAULT WITH  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, RACIAL MATTERS-BPP;  
Office of Origin  
00 SAN FRANCISCO

ON [REDACTED] INSTANT, A CONFIDENTIAL SOURCE

ADVISED THAT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

ON [REDACTED] INSTANT, CONTACT AT OFFICE OF [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

b6  
b7C

END PAGE ONE

TELETYPE TO

SF

51-258

7 1969

5-11-68  
800

PAGE TWO

b6  
b7C

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS. ✓

ADMINISTRATIVE

RE SAN FRANCISCO TEL, DECEMBER THREE ONE, LAST.

SOURCE IDENTIFIED AS

b6  
b7C  
b7D

P.

END

NSM R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

cc - MR. SULLIVAN

b6  
b7C

MR.   
cc - ROOM 836 9&D

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-13-2005 BY 60309 AWC  
TAM/MLT/EHL  
airtel

1/3/69

To: SACs, San Francisco (88-12329)  
New York (100-161321)

REC-28

From: Director, FBI (100-447251) - 257

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
FUGITIVE  
RM - BPP;  
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER  
OO: SAN FRANCISCO

Re San Francisco and Los Angeles teletypes  
12/31/68 and Phoenix teletype of January 2, 1969.

In view of the continued and persistent informant reports indicating subject is possibly hiding out in New York City with potential of making good his escape to Cuba or other areas, New York should insure that maximum racial, security and criminal informant coverage is given to this matter in addition to the sources available to the New York Police Department. Every effort must be made to verify the substance of such informant reports since the Black Panther Party may very well be planting numerous stories among members of their party in an effort to confuse the Bureau's investigation and at the same time create unnecessary investigation.

New York should, beginning with the receipt of this communication, forward to the Bureau a daily summary airtel of the investigation being conducted including informant contacts and the results thereof. San Francisco also furnish daily summary airtel of field-wide investigation. This investigation must continue to receive the maximum possible investigative and supervisory effort.

MAILED 4  
COMM-FBI  
JF 1/3/69

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JRF:egm

(6)

88-12329-131969

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

JH



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATION SECTION

JAN 2 1969

TELETYPE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI WASH DC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-13-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

FBI PHOENIX

1138 AM 1-2-69 URGENT RAF

TO DIRECTOR, (100-447251)

FROM PHOENIX (100-6594)

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE; RM - BPP; UFAC -  
ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER. OO SAN FRANCISCO.

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] REPORTED TO TUCSON RA TODAY THAT HE  
RECEIVED INFORMATION FROM A "FAIRLY RELIABLE SOURCE" THAT  
SUBJECT [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

SAN FRANCISCO AND NEW YORK ADVISED AIRMAIL.

RUC.

END

EX-115 REC-28

100-447251-259

~~CORRECTION FOLLOWING LINE LINE ONE~~

~~SHOULD BE [REDACTED] REPORTED TO TUCSON RA~~  
~~TODAY THAT HE ---~~

END

PGH

FBI WASH DC

airtel to SF, NY  
1-3-69  
JRF: egm  
DIV.9

17 JAN 7 1969

b6  
b7C

cc - Mr. Sullivan & Mr. [REDACTED]

VIA TELETYPE

DEC 31 1968

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

WASHDC---6---

4:13 PM URGENT 12-31-68 LAG

TO DIRECTOR, SAN FRANCISCO, AND NEW YORK

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON

FROM LOS ANGELES (88-15756) 2P

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 04-06-2006 BY 60309 AUC  
ENCODE  
TAM/DCG/EHL

✓ IAH 4239  
WF# 447  
LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER-FUGITIVE. RM-BPP; UFAC-ASSAULT  
WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER. 00: SF.

ON

ADVISED

b6  
b7C  
b7D

260  
7 1969

END PAGE ONE

TELETYPED TO:

FTB NY  
JAN 1 1969  
DEC 1968  
XEROX

b6  
b7C

PAGE TWO

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED]  
ON DECEMBER THIRTY, LAST, [REDACTED]

ADVISED HE MET WITH [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] HAD STATED HE JUST RETURNED FROM

EAST AND WHILE IN NEW YORK CITY, HAD SEEN ELDRIDGE CLEAVER.

COX GAVE NO FURTHER INFORMATION CONCERNING CLEAVER'S WHEREABOUTS.

SAN FRANCISCO SHOULD REMAIN ALERT FOR INFORMATION INDICATING  
FOREIGN TRAVEL ON PART OF [REDACTED]

ARMED AND DANGEROUS. ✓

END

WA...JDR R RELAY

FBI WASH DC

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-13-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

FBI

Date: 12/31/68

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via TELETYPE URGENT  
(Priority)

TO DIRECTOR (AIRMAIL) AND SAC NEW YORK (100-161321)  
FROM SAC SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329)

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER DASH FUGITIVE. WANTED FLYER  
NUMBER FOUR FOUR SEVEN. RM-BPP; UFAC DASH ASSAULT WITH  
INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER. OO SAN FRANCISCO.

RE NEW YORK TELETYPE DECEMBER TWELVE LAST.

ON THIS DATE [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] ADVISED THAT A SOURCE WHO HAS ALWAYS  
BEEN RELIABLE IN THE PAST TOLD HIM THAT SUBJECT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] KNOWS WHERE CLEAVER  
IS.

NEW YORK, AT NEW YORK. INTERVIEW [REDACTED] AND CONSIDER  
OTHER COVERAGE ON THE POSSIBILITY SUBJECT'S WHEREABOUTS IS  
KNOWN TO HER.

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

1 - Bureau (100-447251)(AM)  
1 - San Francisco  
RCD:sm  
(2)

JAN 1 1969

Approved: [Signature]  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent 5 M Per [Signature]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

b6  
b7C  
b7D

b6  
b7C

REC-28

100-447251-261

FILED

VIA TELETYPE

BDFC&amp;, /6,0/-, /1

JAN 3 1969 *AD*

ENCIPHERED

WASHINGTON --02-- NEW YORK --01-- PHILADELPHIA --01--

308 PM URGENT 1-3-69 KXC

TO DIRECTOR (100-447251), SAN FRANCISCO (100-55520), NEW YORK

(100-161321) AND PHILADELPHIA PLAINTEXT

SAN FRANCISCO VIA WASHINGTON  
FROM NEWARK (157-2679)ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-13-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHLLEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER-FUGITIVE, RM-BPP, UFAC-ASSAULT  
WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER, 00--SF.

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

[REDACTED] FURNISHED INFO THIS DATE THAT [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] TELEPHONICALLY CONTACTED

PITTSBURGH OFFICE ON [REDACTED]

AND STATED [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED] TOOK NO ACTION

ON INFORMANT'S INFO. [REDACTED]

INFORMANT CONTACTED [REDACTED]

REC-20

[REDACTED] 3 FURNISHED THIS INFO <sup>2</sup> JAN 6 1969

TO [REDACTED] TO HANDLE.

END PAGE ONE

b6  
b7C

TELETYPED TO:

SF FTB 125  
530AM 1 31969

PAGE TWO

PAGE TWO

NK 157-2679

b6  
b7C  
b7D

NEWARK HAS ASSURED  BUREAU WILLING TO PAY  
INFORMANT ON LUMP SUM BASIS FOR INFO LEADING TO CLEAVER'S  
END PAGE TWO

b6  
b7C

PAGE THREE

NK 157-2679

APPREHENSION.

NEWARK WILL FOLLOW WITH  FOR ADDITIONAL INFO  
AND SUTEL WHEN AVAILABLE.

b6  
b7c

SUBJECT ARMED AND DANGEROUS.

END

RHLVJGH FBI NEW YORK

HWL

,/(<

WA...HWL

FBI R RELAY WASH DC

ED 47252 2 NOV

CC MR SULLIVAN



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED FBI

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-13-2005 BY 60309 AUC

Date: 12/30/68

Transmit the following in TAM/MLT/EHL

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTELAIR MAIL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

FROM : SAC SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) (P)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE  
 WF #447  
 RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT  
 TO COMMIT MURDER  
 (OO: SF)

DAILY SUMMARYb2  
b7D

Informants, including the following, recently contacted and alerted regarding subject, unable to furnish information of value at this time: [REDACTED]

In regard to subject's recent bail forfeiture, the date of 6/20/69 has been set by the Superior Court, Alameda County, Oakland, Calif., as a date for the hearing regarding the final forfeiture of bail.

Subject's wife, KATHLEEN CLEAVER, has publicly announced that she is expecting a child in July, 1968. (2)

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

3 - Bureau  
 2 - San Francisco  
 (1 - 100-55520)

RCD:ab  
 (5)

REC 68

EX-113

25 JAN 2 1969

C. C. Bishop

54 JAN 14 1969

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_

M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-13-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit  
1/8/69

CABLEGRAM

REC-64

URGENT

TO LEGAT OTTAWA  
FROM DIRECTOR FBI

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUG., IO FOUR TWO THREE NINE,  
WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO  
MURDER, OO: SF.

FOR INFORMATION OF LEGAT, OTTAWA, INFORMATION RECEIVED  
FROM BOSTON INFORMANT INDICATING BPP OFFICE IN BOSTON RECEIVED  
TELEPHONE CALL ON EVENING OF JANUARY SIX, LAST, FROM UNKNOWN  
ORIGIN. AT CONCLUSION OF CALL PERSON RECEIVING CALL SAID  
QUOTE GOOD NEWS ABOUT OLD CLEAVER UNQUOTE. ON BEING QUESTIONED  
BY OTHERS PRESENT HE SAID CLEAVER IS SAFE IN THE NORTH COUNTRY.  
SOURCE ASKED WHAT THAT MEANT AND WAS TOLD DIDN'T YOU EVER HEAR  
OF CANADA.

LAST, AND RECALLED AT LEAST A

DOZEN NEGROES, SOME FROM HARLEM, NY AREA IN SANCTUARY.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Bishop \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JRF:mjg  
(4)

34 JAN 10 1969

VIA TELETYPE  
WLM  
JAN 8 1969  
10 20 AM  
ENCIPHERED

MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

b6  
b7C

b6  
b7C  
b7D

CABLEGRAM TO OTTAWA  
RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

SOURCE UNDERSTANDS THEY WERE SENT FURTHER NORTH FROM MONTREAL.

SOURCE SUGGESTS POSSIBILITY CLEAVER FINDING REFUGE THERE.

b7D

BOSTON ATTEMPT<sup>ING</sup> THROUGH SOURCE TO LOCATE NAME AND ADDRESS OF

[REDACTED] PREVIOUSLY MENTIONED AND LEGAT WILL  
BE ADVISED.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

JAN 7 1969

TELETYPE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 04-06-2006 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/DCG/EHL

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

FBI BOSTON

11:16AM URGENT 1/7/69 NTY

TO DIRECTOR 100-447251 & SAN FRANCISCO 100-55520

FROM BOSTON 157-637 P

LERoy ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, RM, BPP, FUG

ON THIS DATE [REDACTED] ADVISED THAT  
BPP OFFICE IN BOSTON RECEIVED PHONE CALL ON EVENING OF  
JANUARY SIX LAST FROM UNKNOWN ORIGIN. AT CONCLUSION OF CALL  
PERSON RECEIVING CALL SAID QUOTE GOOD NEWS ABOUT OLD  
CLEAVER UNQUOTE. ON BEING QUESTIONED BY OTHERS PRESENT HE  
SAID CLEAVER IS SAFE IN THE NORTH COUNTRY. SOURCE ASKED  
WHAT THAT MEANT AND WAS TOLD DIDN'T YOU EVER HEAR OF CANADA.

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

b6  
b7C  
b7D

[REDACTED] LAST AND RECALLED AT LEAST A  
DOZEN NEGROES, SOME FROM HARLEM, NY AREA IN SANCTUARY.  
SOURCE UNDERSTANDS THEY WERE SENT FURTHER NORTH FROM MONTREAL.

JAN 9 1969

END PAGE ONE

XEROX

JAN 1969

PAGE TWO

BS 157-637

SOURCE SUGGESTS POSSIBILITY CLEAVER FINDING REFUGE THERE.  
WILL LOCATE NAME AND ADDRESS OF WHITE WOMAN MENTIONED  
BUREAU WILL BE ADVISED.

END

PGH

FBI WASH DC

CC MR. SULLIVAN &

*inv.*



b6  
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

FBI

DATE 04-06-2006 BY 60309 SAUC Date: 12/31/68

TAM/DCG/EHL

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-44725)  
FROM : SAC SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) (P)  
SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE  
WF #447  
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT  
TO COMMIT MURDER  
(OO: SF)

DAILY SUMMARY

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

[redacted] advises that [redacted]  
[redacted] in that city, has stated that  
statement to press by KATHLEEN CLEAVER regarding seeing subject  
in New York City is not true.

[redacted] advises that [redacted]  
[redacted] reportedly said ELDRIDGE CLEAVER might  
"skip to Cuba" before he would be incarcerated.

b2  
b6  
b7C  
b7D

b6  
b7C

Leads have been set out to check toll calls made  
by [redacted] during  
the period [redacted]

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

3 - Bureau  
2 - San Francisco  
(1 - 100-55520)  
RCD:ab  
(5)

REC 82

100-447251-265

25 JAN 2 1969

G. C. Bishop

b6  
b7C

Approved: 175  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

DATE: 12/31/68

FROM : SAC, ALBANY (100-20283) (RUC)

SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
RM - BPP

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-13-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

ReBulet to Albany dated 11/5/68.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are eleven (11)  
copies of an LHM referring to LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER's  
speech at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute (RPI), Troy,  
New York, on 10/10/68.

First confidential source is [redacted]

[redacted] an established source.

The second confidential source is [redacted]

[redacted] observed CLEAVER's  
speech and is available to testify.

Three copies of this LHM being furnished to  
San Francisco as they are Office of Origin of the Black  
Panther Party and LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER.

One copy of this LHM being furnished to New York  
as they are coordinating office for the Peace and Freedom  
Party.

REC 43

Dissemination is being made locally to USA, NDNY;  
MIG; NIS; OSI and Secret Service.

(2) - Bureau (Encs. 12) (RM)

3 - San Francisco (100-55520) (Encs. 3) (RM)

1 - New York (100-Peace and Freedom Party) (Enc. 1) (RM)

2 - Albany

(1 - 100-19705)

JEM:pak

(8)

AGENCY: ACST, HHS, HCL, HSC, HNY

DEPT: ISD, HHS, HCL, HSC, HNY

HOW FORN: R/S

DATE FORN: 1/7/69

BY: [redacted]

100-447251-266  
JAN 6 1969

b6

b7C

RACIAL INT. SECT.



5010-108

54 JAN 7 1969

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan



AL 100-20283

b6  
b7C  
b7D

Enclosed for the Bureau is a tape recording of CLEAVER's speech furnished to SA [redacted] by [redacted]. The tape is the property of the FBI and need not be returned.

*Retained  
Room  
810*

It is to be noted the LHM contains quotations from CLEAVER's speech which are repetitious or grammatically incorrect. These are quotations and not errors.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
Albany, New York

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

December 31, 1968

APPEARANCE OF LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
AT RENSSELAER POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE  
(RPI), TROY, NEW YORK, ON  
OCTOBER 10, 1968

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised on October 11, 1968, that LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER spoke at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute (RPI), Troy, N. Y., on the evening of October 10, 1968, in the gymnasium. The source stated CLEAVER's appearance on the RPI campus was sponsored by the Inter-Fraternity Council, an association of fraternities at RPI, which paid him \$500; no admission was charged.

CLEAVER's appearance was the result of a letter written by the Inter-Fraternity Council to all Presidential candidates requesting they speak on the RPI campus.

Source stated that about 1500 persons, predominantly students, heard CLEAVER's speech, which was unenthusiastically received, except for approximately 100 people who sat in the front of the gymnasium.

The source stated CLEAVER was introduced by PETER ~~DEVINOVICH~~, who described himself as the New York State organizer of the Peace and Freedom Party (PFP) and who described CLEAVER as the Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party (BPP), and the Presidential candidate of the PFP.

DEVINOVICH described the PFP as a recently-organized, completely independent, political party which is controlled by the membership. DEVINOVICH stated the BPP and the PFP are associated but that each works independently. He said the PFP has no illusions that CLEAVER would be elected President of the United States.

A characterization of the BPP is attached hereto.

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ENCLOSURE

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RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER

A second confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that CLEAVER's speech at RPI was filled with obscenities and earthy language. Source stated CLEAVER often compared the United States with the Babylonian Empire, and he was very critical of the U. S. policy in Viet Nam. CLEAVER criticized President JOHNSON, Governor RONALD REAGAN of California, and all leading Presidential candidates. CLEAVER stated that a vote for any of the three candidates whom he called "pigs" would be a crime against humanity

The first confidential source referred to above furnished the following information concerning CLEAVER's speech:

CLEAVER began speaking with obscene greetings to the "pigs of the power structure" and gave a special greeting to his parole officer, whom he said required him to give his itinerary in advance so the "slow dull pigs in the local area" could monitor his speech and send back the results so the parole officer could hear for himself what CLEAVER had to say.

CLEAVER described the Presidential candidates WALLACE, NIXON and HUMPHREY as "pigs" and stated "one was just as bad as the other, one can get you killed just as bad as the other and that's all they have to offer to the people of the world, to the people of this country which means that we have a problem". He said this was a problem which could not be solved by voting for him (CLEAVER) because he would not care if no one voted for him in November and recommended that no one vote because he believed a vote for anyone of the candidates "would be a crime against humanity".

CLEAVER stated that "America, the beautiful successor to Nazi Germany, either has to change the swastika as a symbol of terror around the world, decadent Babylonians, murderers, perpetrators of genocide, liars, hypocrites and everything foul. That's what's in this country, pigs and people."

He said that those in the audience, because of listening to the news media, teachers and preachers, have probably heard that CLEAVER is a racist. He stated that he was not a racist but for law and order, different than that of GEORGE WALLACE and all the pigs of the power structure. He said "I'm for law and order that will get everyone in this country out of order, out of the order that we've been placed in, into another Boston Tea Party, because that's what we need."

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"The avenues of redress have been closed. The pigs of the power structure have usurped the political machinery of this country. If you don't believe this, ask those McCarthyites who went to Chicago and got all the fat wiped off their heads trying to support Senator McCarthy, trying to exercise their Constitutional rights to dissent. Ask them if the political channels are still open."

He related that he heard the chairman of the McCarthy delegation from Wisconsin on television saying, "We came to Chicago to participate in the convention of the Democratic Party and we thought there was going to be a democratic process but we find out the Democratic Party has been transformed into the Nazi Party."

CLEAVER described the Republican Party as the "gangster conspiracy against the people" and called it the "grand old pig party". He said the Republican and Democratic parties should change their symbols from the elephant and donkey to a "big fat pig" because "they are foul, they are low and they are everything that we say those little pigs are". CLEAVER gazed to the little pigs.

CLEAVER continued in his speech. He said he had requests made of him by his parole officer in which he said "I want to see my parole officer yesterday in prison. I want a mission to come out here and he said 'Eldridge, when you return you to prison becomes final in about 45 days. I'm going to do?' When he asked me that, I was on the floor. I thought our business was finished and I picked it up but I decided to be cautious ... the man told me that it was a very bad situation, that he didn't want to have to put out an all points bulletin for me. So he said, 'Maybe we can do it the way we did it the last time. I'll give you a letter informing you that you are to report to San Quentin State Prison for a parole revocation hearing.' When he sent me that last one, I didn't report to San Quentin, I reported to my lawyer. He went to the judge and got a restraining order and the judge issued an order for them to show cause as to why they should not be held in contempt of court. And Mickey Mouse Reagan, Grade B movie actor, actress, what is he, I don't know what he is, just as he twisted the arm, tentacles of the Regents, Board of Regents, forced them to pass a resolution, I guess you'd call it, prohibiting me from delivering the ten lectures that I'm going to

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"deliver. Just as he did that he ran to the Appellate Court and got them to issue an order revoking my parole. He did that because he's a punk, a sissy and a coward and because I challenge him to a duel. I seriously challenge that (obscene) to a duel. I give him his choice of weapons, anything from a baseball bat, a knife, a gun, a marshmallow, and I'll beat him to death with a marshmallow ... but he doesn't want to deal with that, he doesn't want to confront that, so he sneaks around and he gets other people to do his dirty work for him. So he's going to have me taken back to prison, so he thinks, I'm not going, I'm not going. Listen, I went there and I stayed there for nine years and during those nine years I investigated the penitentiary thoroughly to my satisfaction. While there I was in every nook and cranny that they have for a person from the hospital to solitary confinement. I don't want anything to do with that, not even the medicine they were giving out. I don't want nothing to do with it, nothing to do with it, so I'm not going back. I've got 45 days, I'm going to run my mouth for 44 days. On the 45th day, I'm going into the heart of the black community in the bay area in Oakland, the cradle of the Black Panther Party, and I'm going to say, if you want me (obscene), come and get me, because I would rather be dead. I would rather be dead. I'd rather be dead out here than back on ice. That's a form of death that I'm never going to experience again if I can possibly have anything to do with it and because of the way this (obscene) came down, I have a taste of initiative to exercise, I am going to do just that. So if he wants anybody to go to that penitentiary let RONALD REAGAN send his mama there and he can go there with her and her cell partner...(inaudible)

"But I'm not going and that's where you come in.

"I'm not going to come and hide in your pad because I don't have your address and because I'm afraid you might turn me in. Call the cinks on me. But what I do is going to have an effect upon you because everything that we all do these days has repercussions, and you scientists can understand repercussions. And what I do is going to have repercussions because I know that I will have the support of the black community and I know that I will have the support of a lot of white radicals who are not too confused, their heads (obscene) with too much foreign ideology. And I believe I will have the support of a lot of young white people who are caught up in the cultural revolution who are trying to make a break with the bloody decadent past of their country because they recognize they cannot go into the future on the vehicle from the past. Not from this past.



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"And if I don't have all that support I don't need it all. All I need is time to die. Time to do my thing and I'm ready for that and I don't mind dying (obscene). Just lay me down. But until you lay me down don't tell me that I can't say what I want to say. If the students at the University of California want to invite me there under the rules and regulations that then prevail and ask me to talk about racism, definitely I'm going to show up on time and I don't want a mother (obscene) Governor telling me that I can't talk. I don't care if his name is ROCKEFELLER. (Obscene) him. I'm not going to court. I don't care if its lynching BAINES JOHNSON it doesn't make any difference that nobody, nobody has the right to tell a man he can't talk. That he can't say his piece. That's something of what this country is supposed to be about. That's one of the things that we're finding out that it's not about. And so we find ugly Americans, ugly Americans, vicious Americans the type of people who can authorize bombs for breakfast for the people in Vietnam. I say bombs for the Babylonians, if there are going to be bombs for the people in Vietnam.

"Some simple (obscene) reporter asked me out here a while ago would I fight for this country. I know that was a simple question but he was a reporter you see and he asked me would you fight for any other country. I said yes. He said which one"

"I started to say China. And then I thought of Vietnam, brother HO CHI MIN, and I thought of Cuba, then I just thought about the whole third world. And so I told that I would fight for any country struggling to free itself from imperialism, from colonialism, from the exploitations of this racist decadent capitalistic system. Yes I would fight for them."

CLEAVER then discussed people who want to end the war in Vietnam. Those who march, sign petitions, stage all kinds of freak shows and carnivals trying to impress the pigs of the power structure. He ridiculed the peace talks going on in Paris concerning the Vietnam war as filibustering and putting out lying rumors.

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He then stated "But if you say you want to see the war ended, you say that you sympathize with the people of Vietnam, if you say that you feel the same way that they feel then you have to realize that the only way that we can really stop this war is to give the power structure a deadline. Not a long one either, and tell them that if they don't stop the war we are going to open up a second front right here in Babylon."

He then compared the people in this country to the actions of the German people who wanted to stop the genocide of the Jews.

He said "In this country we are carrying out LBJ's program, going along with his program just like the Germans did and we sit here with dumb faces and we need to go out in the streets and bring it to an end, and we can do that because there are more people in this country than there are pigs."

He stated this country is confused as the result of lying statements issued by so call leaders of this country.

He stated that we have a situation of LYNDON JOHNSON's party repudiating him because of a credibility gap. He said this was a euphemism, that he, JOHNSON, was a liar. He said it means that the statistics in the reports that JOHNSON puts out cannot be trusted.

He said that JOHNSON must have gotten up one day "and looked at himself in the mirror, and looked at his ugly face and he must have seen lies pouring out of his mouth dripping with the blood of the people and saw for himself that he was indeed foul so he told the people that he did not recommend himself again for another term. So get on LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON, war criminal, guilty."

He then asked the audience the question is LYNDON BAINES JOHNSON guilty, is he a murderer, is he is war criminal. The audience responded with a mixture of yes's and no's.



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He asked if there would be a Nuremberg for JOHNSON, RUSK and MC NAMARA and for the Republican and Democratic Parties. He said he won't talk about the people who voted for the candidates but the pigs who control those machines. He specifically stated he was talking about the dogs like Mayor DALEY of Chicago. He criticized DALEY for sending his troops against the people in Chicago who were against the war in Vietnam. He then spoke about the public servants who had become arrogant who think they own the people and this country. He said this condition would not continue because he was sure the people of this country and of the world would rise up against them.

He stated that right now there was no real neutral ground, that people were either part of the problem or part of the solution and they couldn't wait indefinitely. He said "the people who are feeling the pain aren't going to wait on you any more."

He said the oppressor has got out of hand and stated it was not safe to go to court in New York any more especially if you are a Black Panther, because "off duty racist pigs will stamp on you in the hallowed halls of justice." He said that we have policemen in this country who have developed a class consciousness. He said the police are motivated like the Army, "honor defending the borders of civilization against the barbarity hordes, niggers in the ghetto and hippies and yuppies and McCarthyites." He said that the police were better organized than the military. He spoke of the International Association of Chiefs of Police which he called "the ruling Reich." He said they have ideologies and that they are conscious of themselves, as a special interest group, they have big money and they have a lot of guns and "they have a blank check for whipping heads unless we call that check in and let them know we want the public servants of this country to act like public servants and don't bite the hand that feeds them or we'll take that hand and slap their (obscene) heads off."

CLEAVER stated that women hold the power to make the men become a part of the solution. That the women should make love and even sex revolutionary and if the men did not agree with them they should make them leave their pad. He said we need men in Babylon who will fulfill their duties as defenders of the times.

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He then stated to the audience that he wanted a policeman and demanded that any policemen who had sneaked into the audience to stand up and identify himself. When no one stood up he stated he knew they were in there because he could smell them and then called them cowards for not making themselves known to those present. He stated referring to the policemen that "We don't fear you any more because we have found out you are not magic and that all you have is a gun and that in order to neutralize all we need is a gun and so we got them. So shoot your shot and we'll shoot ours and you will be the aggressor as you always are."

He then said that "we are going to put an end to your murder and that is all I want to talk about until its over with, an end to the murder by these brutal pigs."

He then spoke about HUEY P. NEWTON, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party and asked the audience if they had heard about him. He said that NEWTON is behind bars because they say he killed a pig. He said "they tried to kill him. Someone killed a pig because the pig is dead. That (obscene) ain't going to move, he's dead, but HUEY didn't kill him, you dig it." He said that a jury of 11 white people and "1?" brought back a verdict of voluntary manslaughter. He said that the police didn't accept this verdict and that two drunken policemen came by the Black Panther Headquarters in San Francisco and shot up the windows aiming at a picture of HUEY NEWTON, all because the judge didn't sentence NEWTON to the gas chamber.

He spoke about an article he had written concerning NEWTON which he wanted the people to read stating that NEWTON had set a standard. CLEAVER stated "we need an Army." "We need a black army and we need a white army. We say all power to the people. Black power for black people, white power for white people, brown power for brown people, red power for red people, yellow power for MAG-TSE TUNG and HO-CHI-MIN and all of their brothers and sisters."

He said he knew some people were disgruntled when he mentions white power but said that they never had white power only "pig power" in your name. "

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CLEAVER said that "we can relate to white power because we believe that all people have an absolute right to control their own destiny, to have the control of the sovereignty which is over him, everyone from Eskimos to the descendants of the slave masters and we have only one condition, that you stop acting like your grandpappy and grandmarny.

He stated that people today that are living comfortably are receivers of stolen property as a result of slavery but added that the victims of that plunder are now "standing at the door and telling you we want our share and we are going to get our share or we're going to turn the (obscene) table over."

He said that the Negroes are not going to have people running around comfortably while they are in misery. He said Negroes want to be part of the Democratic regeneration of the earth or be part of the Democratic destruction of it. He stated "there's not going to be any middle ground and that's the point."

He then ridiculed the polls showing WALLACE as gaining and stated that NIXON would win the Presidency and that NIXON would take those that wanted him to hell.

He stated that if he did go to hell he and the other members of the Black Panther Party would move against the devil and if God joined in a coalition with the devil, they would have to move against God also, because "we don't have to submit to anything that's not soothing to our code."

CLEAVER said "the basic principles we operate on is that every man, woman and child on the face of the planet earth has an absolute right to the very best, the very highest standard of living that human knowledge and technology is capable of providing without any exceptions. They have a right to that and anything that stands in the way of that has to go, including the decadent; capitalistic system that is in the way of that, and its got to go whether you like it or not."

He then spoke of other empires through history which have fallen and stated that change is now indicated and everyone knows it and it is only a question of how.

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CLEAVER told the students at RPI that when they were drafted and asked if they wanted to join the Engineering Corps or go to the front lines, that they would choose to man the guns and kill their "brothers and sisters;" following which he stated "I hope you don't mke it back if you go."

He criticized General HERSEY and General LE MAY who endorsed GEORGE WALLACE for President and "sends niggers greetings to go to Vietnam to kill yellow people for racists."

CLEAVER then criticized ROY WILKINS and WHITNEY YOUNG as being Uncle Toms and told the audience that if any of them were acquainted with an Uncle Tom that the strategy of licking boots does not work. He said to tell Uncle Tom to get up off his knees, wipe the shoe polish off his mouth and pick up a gun and join the black army..."tell him to get off that kick because it's not going to work and join the Black Panther Party and use that energy in a more efficient manner. Tell him to do what MALCOLM X prophetized must be done. "

He said that HUEY NEWTON was listening to MALCOLM X when MALCOLM X said we must organize to defend ourselves.

CLEAVER read as follows an article he had written concerning HUEY P. NEWTON:

"To HUEY P. NEWTON, a narration and commentary by those who know him. HUEY P. NEWTON, Minister of Defense, of the Black Panther Party, the baddest (obscene) ever to set foot inside of history. HUEY P. NEWTON, the brother, black man, nigger, the descendent of slaves who stood up in the heart of the ghetto at night in alleys confronted by racist pigs with guns and said 'my name is HUEY P. NEWTON, Minister of Defense of the Black Panther Party, I'm standing on my constitutional rights. I'm not going to allow you to brutalize me. I'm going to stop you from brutalizing my people. You've got your gun, pig, I've got mine. You shoot at me, I'm shooting back.'"

CLEAVER said "that's HUEY P. NEWTON and I think it's beautiful."

He then asked the audience if they could relate to a man who had the guts to stand up and say give me liberty or give me death, because that is what HUEY was saying for black people. CLEAVER said that he knew the people could

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relate to it but they couldn't relate to it in the same way as black people.

CLEAVER closed his speech in stating that St. Michael the Archangel was the first pig in history, the chief of police of his time who he said was sent to the Garden of Eden to evict the people there who were having a loud party or something. When St. Michael told Adam and Eve to leave they left at once. CLEAVER said had HUEY P. NEWTON been there he would have told that pig that he liked it there and he was going to stay and if St. Michael swung his sword at him he would swing his sword back.

CLEAVER said that we could have a Garden of Eden right here with some student power, faculty power and some guest lecturer power.

CLEAVER closed by ridiculing Governor RONALD REAGAN and MAX RAFFERTY with obscenities and stated "power to the people whether you like it or not. God night and God bless you, if there is one."

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APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby George Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.



# FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reporting Office <b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>	Office of Origin <b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>	Date <b>12/31/68</b>	Investigative Period <b>12/10-30/68</b>
Title of Case  <b>DEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, aka Eldridge Cleaver, Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Jr. - FUGITIVE IO #4231 WF 447</b>		Report made by <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 15px; width: 100%;"></div>	b6 b7C
		Typed By: <div style="border: 1px solid black; height: 15px; width: 100%;"></div> <b>hc</b>	
		Character of Case  <b>RM - BPP UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER</b>	

## SUMMARY

### REFERENCE:

Bureau airtel to All SACs dated 12/10/68

### LEADS:

All offices will contact logical informants familiar with Black Panther Party activities and other left wing militant groups regarding subject. Other leads are being set out by separate communication.

### ADMINISTRATIVE:

Wanted Flyer #447 was issued for subject on 12/13/68. Identification Order Number 4235 was issued for subject 12/18/68.

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DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
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Approved <div style="font-size: 2em; font-family: cursive;">CWB</div>	Special Agent in Charge	Do not write in spaces below	
Copies made:  (See Cover Page B*)  3 - San Francisco (2 - 88-12329) (1 - 100-55520)  <i>100-55520-1-7-69</i> <i>100-55520-0-7</i>		<div style="font-size: 1.5em; font-family: cursive;">100-447251-267</div>	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">REC-47</div>
		<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">14 JAN 6 1969</div>	
		<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">EX-102</div>	
		<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px;">FBI</div>	

Notations:

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

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Copy to:

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Date:

12/31/68

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Office: SAN FRANCISCO

Field Office File #: 88-12329

Bureau File #: 100-447251

Title:

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER  
IDENTIFICATION ORDER #4231  
WANTED FLYER 447

Character:

RACIAL MATTER - BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID CONFINEMENT - ASSAULT WITH INTENT  
TO COMMIT MURDER

Synopsis:

Subject, who was paroled from California State Prison, December, 1966, where serving sentence for ADW, Assault With Intent to Commit Murder, and Assault with Intent to Commit Rape, failed to report to State Parole Authorities, San Francisco, California, on November 27, 1968, as ordered following revocation of parole. State warrant issued for subject as a parole violator that date. On 12/10/68, following request for Federal assistance, an authorized complaint was filed before USC, San Francisco, California, charging subject with violation Title 18, Section 1073, U. S. Code. Warrant issued that date. Subject last seen San Francisco, California, November 23-24, 1968. Subject failed to appear in Superior Court, Oakland, California, 12/23/68 on other charges, \$50,000 bail forfeited. Present whereabouts of subject unknown. Subject is Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party and his wife, KATHLEEN CLEAVER is National Captain of Women in this organization. Subject was also nominated as the Peace and Freedom Party candidate for President of the U. S. in the 1968 general election. Subject, the author of a book entitled "Soul on Ice". Subject allegedly has engaged police officers in gun battle in the past. CONSIDER ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

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DETAILS:

FACTS OF OFFENSE

SF 88-12329

RCD:hc

On December 10, 1968, [redacted] Special Agent, California Department of Corrections, Special Service Unit, Room 240, Ferry Building, San Francisco, California, advised as follows:

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On November 3, 1957, subject was arrested by California authorities for Assault with a Deadly Weapon and Assault with Intent to Commit Murder and Assault with Intent to Commit Rape. According to the files of the California Adult Authority, the arrest was made by the Los Angeles Police Department. The subject reportedly forced open the car door of a Mr. [redacted] tied [redacted] up and attempted to rape [redacted] girlfriend, [redacted] and witnesses pursued the subject by automobile with the subject firing shots at the pursuing witnesses. On March 11, 1958, the subject was sentenced to California State Prison for six months to fourteen years on the above charges. He was paroled in December, 1966, at which time he immediately proceeded to the San Francisco, California, area where he obtained employment with "Rampart's Magazine." He was employed as a writer with this magazine and later became an editor and subsequently senior editor, which position he held until his disappearance in November, 1968.

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Since his release from prison, the subject had aligned himself with the Black Panther Party (BPP) and currently serves as Minister of Information of this organization.

On May 2, 1967, a group of 24 Negro males who identified themselves as members of the BPP, made a protest march and appearance at the California State Capitol in Sacramento, California, armed with rifles and handguns. As a result of the ensuing confrontation with authorities, the subject was arrested and charged with violation of parole. Representatives of his employer, "Rampart's Magazine" interceded on the subject's behalf claiming the subject had been assigned as a reporter for "Rampart's" to cover the State Capitol confrontation and that he had not appeared there as part of the raiding party and consequently should not have been arrested as a result of the confrontation. The subject was thereafter released by the authorities and no further action was taken to revoke his parole at that time.

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The subject continued on parole until April 6, 1968, at which time he and several other members of the BPP became involved in a shootout with officers of the Oakland, California, Police Department, which resulted in the death of BOBBY HUTTON, Treasurer of the BPP, and the wounding of the subject in his left foot and ankle by a shotgun blast.

As a result of this shootout, the subject's parole was revoked and he was returned to prison. In a legal action brought by his attorney, CHARLES GARRY, in the Superior Court in Solano County, California, the revocation of subject's parole was declared illegal by Superior Court Judge RAYMOND SHERMAN who ruled that the subject's parole had been revoked because of "his political activities."

The subject was continued on parole until the last part of September, 1968, when the California Court of Appeals reversed the Superior Court ruling and stated that the California Department of Corrections' action in revoking subject's parole was not illegal. The Court of Appeals ordered CLEAVER to be returned to prison and his parole revoked as of November 27, 1968. The California Department of Corrections wrote the subject a letter on approximately November 20, 1968, advising the subject that he should turn himself in to parole authorities at the State Building, San Francisco, California, at 9:00 AM, on November 27, 1968. The subject failed to appear and a warrant was issued for his arrest as a parole violator on that date.

The subject was last seen at a Cleaver Defense Fund Rally at the California Hall, San Francisco, California, on November 21, 1968, according to [redacted] [redacted] advised, however, that in an interview by the press on November 27, 1968, at the State Building, San Francisco, the subject's wife, KATHLEEN CLEAVER, and the subject's attorney, CHARLES GARRY, both advised that they last saw the subject on November 24, 1968. [redacted] also advised that the subject was interviewed by the press at "Rampart's Magazine" on November 23, 1968. [redacted] stated that attempts to locate the subject at his last known addresses of 2500 Filbert and 2777 Pine Street, San Francisco, California, had been unsuccessful. He advised that the subject's whereabouts are unknown.

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RCD:hc

#### DETAILS OF FEDERAL PROCESS

On November 29, 1968, Deputy Attorney General for the State of California, JOHN P. OAKES, State Building, San Francisco, California, submitted a letter to Mr. CECIL POOLE, U. S. Attorney, San Francisco, California, requesting Federal assistance in the apprehension of the subject, who according to OAKES, is a paroled California prisoner who was serving sentence for several felony convictions. The letter indicated that a warrant for CLEAVER's arrest was issued on November 27, 1968. The letter stated that in the event subject is apprehended outside the State of California, the State would take all steps necessary to return him to California.

On December 10, 1968, U. S. Attorney CECIL POOLE, San Francisco, California, authorized a complaint charging subject with violation Title 18, Section 1073, U. S. Code (Unlawful Flight to Avoid Confinement). POOLE recommended bond at \$100,000, either cash or surety bond.

On December 10, 1968, an authorized complaint was filed by SA [redacted] before U. S. Commissioner [redacted] San Francisco, California, charging the subject with the above violation following conviction of felonies under the laws of the State of California for the crimes of Assault with a Deadly Weapon, Assault with Intent to Commit Murder, and Assault with Intent to Commit Rape, and Parole Violation. A warrant for the subject's arrest was issued on December 10, 1968.

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#### PERSONAL HISTORY

The subject was born to LEROY and THELMA ROBINSON CLEAVER at Little Rock, Arkansas, on August 31, 1935. He was one of six children born to this couple. He lived in Arkansas until the age of 7 (1943) when his parents moved to California. He resided in the area until he was sent to prison in 1958. He dropped out of school at the age of 17 after having reached the eleventh grade. Background

SF 88-12329  
RCD:hc

information developed by the California Department of Corrections revealed that the subject was a user of marijuana and had been known to sell marijuana as early as the age of 17.

Subject was arrested for burglary and petty theft and served time until he was paroled in May, 1951. He was arrested again on November 5, 1952, for possession of narcotics. On January 16, 1953, he was rearrested as a parole violator and in December, 1953, he was paroled. On February 13, 1954, he was arrested by the Los Angeles Police Department for suspicion of possession of narcotics and was sentenced to the State Prison on July 9, 1954. He was paroled on December 3, 1956.

Prior to the extended period of imprisonment, the subject held several jobs, none for any extended length of time. These jobs are as follows:

Jones Rug Cleaning Service  
846 Chapman  
Pasadena, California  
December, 1956

Coast Distributing Company  
1515 West Washington Boulevard  
Los Angeles, California  
December, 1956 - January, 1957

Los Angeles County Heart Association  
660 Southwestern Avenue  
Los Angeles, California  
January, 1957 - March, 1957

Robert Hale (Junk Dealer)  
4083 Adeir Street  
Los Angeles, California  
March, 1957

Jones Rug Cleaning Service,  
846 Chapman  
Pasadena, California  
October, 1957

SF 88-12329  
RCD:hc

Giant Rug Cleaning Company  
Los Angeles, California  
November, 1957

The subject's last known residence was at [redacted] San Francisco, California, where he resided with [redacted] Prior to that subject resided at 2777 Pine Street, San Francisco, California. Other San Francisco addresses listed for the subject since his release on parole in December, 1966, are as follows:

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[redacted]  
% [redacted]

[redacted]  
% [redacted]

March 7, 1967 - April 20, 1967

407 Belvedere  
April 20, 1967 - June 9, 1967

42 Castro Street  
June 9, 1967 -

850 Oak Street

During the subject's confinement in the California State Prison he affiliated himself while at San Quentin with the Nation of Islam - Black Muslim philosophy. He was also able to complete his studies and gain the equivalent of a high school education in 1952. In addition to completing high school, he took courses in baking, welding (which he failed) and offset printing. He indicated his religious preference as Catholic. When first incarcerated, however, he showed no interest in religious services and in subsequent interviews indicated he had no religion. The subject had no other affiliations prior to his release from prison. During his imprisonment he developed a [redacted]

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[redacted] obtaining his release on parole. When he was paroled in December, 1966, the subject told the parole officer that he and

CALIF



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The subject was nominated as the Peace and Freedom Party candidate in the 1968 general election.

Shortly after the subject's release from prison, his manuscript, which is reportedly an autobiography, was published. The book is entitled "Soul on Ice" and is published by McGraw Hill, New York City. The subject has reportedly received in excess of \$40,000 in royalty from his book.

On December 23, 1968, in the Court of Judge FOLGER EMERSON, Department 5, Superior Court, Alameda County, Oakland, California, the subject failed to appear for arraignment on charges stemming from his being involved in a shootout with the Oakland Police Department. The judge ordered CLEAVER's \$50,000 bond forfeited.

#### IDENTIFICATION RECORD

The following arrest record for the subject was furnished by the FBI Identification Division under FBI Number 214 830 B:

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20537

The following FBI record, NUMBER 214 830 B, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.  
Information shown on this Identification Record represents data furnished FBI by fingerprint contributors. WHERE  
FINAL DISPOSITION IS NOT SHOWN OR FURTHER EXPLANATION OF CHARGE IS DESIRED, COMMUNICATE  
WITH AGENCY CONTRIBUTING THOSE FINGERPRINTS.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
Police Department Los Angeles California	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Junior #5348 W 10	October 31, 1952	suspicion Narcotic Act felony delinquent	
Sheriff's Office Los Angeles California	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Junior #B-245360	November 5, 1952	"700 M WIC"- Narcotics	released to custody of Preston School of Industry Ione California
Police Department Los Angeles California	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Junior #227400	February 13, 1954	suspicion Narcotic Act (felony)	State Prison "D45" June 9, 1954 (Csl32601) on charge of suspicion 11500 Health and Safety
Sheriff's Office Los Angeles California	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Junior #B-245360/ B-305651	February 16, 1954	possession of narcotics "(M)"	released to custody of California Institution for Men Chino California
California State Bureau	Leroy E. Cleaver #A-29498	June 18, 1954	possession narcotics (11500 Health and Safety Code)	6 months to 10 years. December 3, 1953 paroled June 12, 1953 paroled

- 8 -

Notations indicated by \* are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as  
being possibly identical with subject of this record.

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20537**

2

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CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
Police Department Los Angeles California	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver, Junior #LA 227 400 C	November 3, 1957  November 4, 1957	suspicion assault with intent to murder violation State Parole	State Prison concurrent concurrent with unexpired parole time, Count 6, 7 Not Guilty "D44" March 11, 1958 "Cs 196860" Fine guilty assault with a deadly weapon/ intent murder (Count 2 3) Found Guilty assault with a deadly weapon (Count 4, 5 8.)
Sheriff's Office Los Angeles California	LeRoy Eldridge Cleaver #B-245360/ B-515769	November 6, 1957	assault with intent to commit murder assault with intent to commit rape (2 counts) and assault with a deadly weapon (2 counts)	released to custody of California Institution for Men Chino California
State Bureau Sacramento California	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver #A-29498-A	March 20, 1958	Parole Violator (assault with intent to commit murder 4 counts and assault with a deadly weapon with prior felony conviction pled and proven each count, all con- current and concurrent with present term)	6 months to 14 years 4 counts and 6 months to 10 years all concurrent and concurrent with present term December 12, 1966 paroled

Notations indicated by \* are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as being possibly identical with subject of this record.

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20537**

3

The following FBI record, NUMBER 214 830 B, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY. Information shown on this Identification Record represents data furnished FBI by fingerprint contributors. WHERE FINAL DISPOSITION IS NOT SHOWN OR FURTHER EXPLANATION OF CHARGE IS DESIRED, COMMUNICATE WITH AGENCY CONTRIBUTING THOSE FINGERPRINTS.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
Police Department Sacramento California	Eldridge Cleaver #S-14017	May 2, 1967	182.1 Penal Code Black Panther	released per District Attorney no complaint Enroute California State Parole released from custody both on May 3, 1967.
Police Department Oakland California	Elridge Cleaver #200160	April 7, 1968	3 counts 187 Penal Code (attempted murder)	4-25-68 Discharged
California State Bureau	Leroy E. Cleaver #A29498A Residence: Vacaville, California	April 7, 1968	Parole Violator	To finish term
Sheriff's Office Oakland California	Eldridge Cleaver #68-4065  Business Address:	April 10, 1968	217 Penal Code 3 counts and prior (assault with intent to kill)	dismissed and turned over to 68-4563
Sheriff's Office Oakland California	Elridge Cleaver #68/4563  Business Address:	April 25, 1968	attempted 187 Penal Code 2 counts and 245B Penal Code 2 counts	
			San Francisco, California	
			San Francisco, California	

- 10 -

Notations indicated by \* are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as being possibly identical with subject of this record.

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20537

The following FBI record, NUMBER 214 830 B, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY. Information shown on this Identification Record represents data furnished FBI by fingerprint contributors. WHERE FINAL DISPOSITION IS NOT SHOWN OR FURTHER EXPLANATION OF CHARGE IS DESIRED, COMMUNICATE WITH AGENCY CONTRIBUTING THOSE FINGERPRINTS.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
Sheriff's Office Fairfield California	Leroy Eldridge Cleaver #68975  Residence: 850 Oak Street	June 12, 1968	3 counts 187 Murder Warrant 3 counts 245b Penal Code assault with deadly weapon warrant San Francisco California	

- 11 -

Notations indicated by \* are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as being possibly identical with subject of this record.

John Edgar Hoover  
Director

SF 88-12329  
RCD:hc

THE FACTS AS TO DANGEROUSNESS

The subject is the Minister of Information of the Black Panther Party.

A characterization of the Black Panther Party is attached in the Appendix.

The subject has been allegedly involved in a gun battle with police officers and in 1957 was arrested for Assault With a Dangerous Weapon and Related Charges.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

Race	Negro
Age	33
Born	August 31, 1935
	August 13, 1935
	August 31, 1933
	Little Rock, Arkansas
Height	6 feet 2 inches
Weight	185 - 195 pounds
Build	Medium
Hair	Black
Eyes	Brown
Complexion	Medium Brown
Nationality	American
Scars and Marks	Numerous pock scars on back; pierced left ear lobe; sometimes wears small gold earring. Shotgun wound left foot and ankle
Fingerprint	
Classification	24 L 13 U OOM 19 I 2 U OOI
Occupations	Writer, reporter, magazine worker, magazine editor, clerk, laborer

SF 88-12329  
RCD:hc

Relatives

Wife, Mrs. KATHLEEN CLEAVER<sup>ST</sup>  
2500 Filbert, San Francisco,  
California

Father, LEROY CLEAVER, <sup>ARK</sup> CALIF

Chicago, Illinois

Mother, Mrs. THELMA CLEAVER, <sup>ARK</sup> NEE ROBINSON

Altadena, California

Stepfather, [REDACTED]

Altadena, California

Sister, [REDACTED]

Altadena, California

Sister, [REDACTED]

Altadena, California

Brother, [REDACTED]

Altadena, California

Brother, [REDACTED]

Altadena, California, [REDACTED]

Sister, [REDACTED]

Altadena, California

Automobile

1968 Plymouth Fury, four door hardtop,  
Gold color, bearing 1968 California  
license XKA470 (this vehicle observed  
in possession of KATHLEEN CLEAVER on  
December 23, 1968, at Oakland,  
California)

Social Security  
Number

562-42-5477

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BLACK PANTHER PARTY, aka  
Black Panther Party for  
Self Defense

According to its official newspaper, the Black Panther Party (BPP) was started during December, 1966, in Oakland, California, to organize black people so they can take control of the life, politics, and the destiny of the black community. It was organized by Bobby George Seale, BPP Chairman, and Huey P. Newton, BPP Minister of Defense. Newton is presently serving a sentence of 2 to 15 years on a conviction of manslaughter in connection with the killing of an Oakland police officer.

The official newspaper, "The Black Panther," which further describes itself as the "Black Community News Service," states that the BPP advocates the use of guns and guerrilla tactics in its revolutionary program to end oppression of the black people. Residents of the black community are urged to arm themselves against the police who are consistently referred to in the publication as "pigs" who should be killed.

"The Black Panther" issue of September 7, 1968, contains an editorial by BPP Minister of Education, George Mason Murray, which ends with the following:

"Black men. Black people, colored persons of America, revolt everywhere! Arm yourselves. The only culture worth keeping is a revolutionary culture. Change. Freedom everywhere. Dynamite! Black Power. Use the gun. Kill the pigs everywhere."

Included in the introduction to an article appearing in the October 5, 1968, edition of "The Black Panther" is the statement, "...we will not dissent from American Government. We will overthrow it."

Issues of "The Black Panther" regularly contain quotations from the writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China and feature MAO's statement that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun."

The national headquarters of the BPP is located at 3106 Shattuck Avenue, Berkeley, California. Branches have been established at various locations throughout the United States.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED F B I

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

Date:

12/31/68

DATE 04-06-2006 BY 60309 AUC

Transmit the following to HLL

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

AIR MAIL - REGISTERED  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)

~~(b)(5)-A, (b)(5)-D, (b)(7)-C, (b)(7)-D~~

FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (157-2323)  
(157-1618)

RE: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE  
RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT  
WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RM - BPP

00: San Francisco

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES  
AND FIELD OFFICES  
ADVISED BY ROUTING  
SLIP (S) BY PLG  
DATE 9-13-78

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 11 copies of a letterhead memorandum (LHM), and two copies of an FD-376, containing information concerning the above-captioned subjects. Copies of this LHM are being furnished to the San Francisco Office, office of origin in the above matters.

Copies of the LHM are also being furnished to Secret Service, Los Angeles; Office of Special Investigations, Norton AFB; Region II, 115th MIG, U. S. Army, Pasadena; and NISO, San Diego.

The LHM is being classified **CONFIDENTIAL** inasmuch as the data reported was received from [redacted] the disclosure of which information could compromise the future effectiveness of the source.

**ENCLOSURE**

1 Bureau (Encl. 11) (AM-REGISTERED)  
2 San Francisco (Encl. 3) (AM-REGISTERED)

3 - San Francisco (Encl. 3) (AM-REGISTERED)

(3) - 157-

Los Angeles

(1 - 157-2323)

(1 - 157-1618)

(1 - 157-2091)

(1 - 88-15756)

AGENCY: ACSI, ~~SECRET~~, SECRETARIAN, 2 1969

DEPT: ISD, ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ IDIU

H-W FORM:

DATE FORW

BY: *AS*

LWS/gcw

(11)

Sent

N

F

Special Agent in Charge

~~SECRET~~  
RACIAL INT. SECT

UNREC COPY, AND COPY OF ENCL FILED IN:

105-165706-26-

LA 157-2323  
LA 157-1618

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Los Angeles is conducting an investigation concerning  
and the Bureau will be advised of the results of the  
investigation.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

BU 100-447251  
105-165706

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535  
December 31, 1968

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. LA 157-2323  
Director 157-1618  
United States Secret Service  
Department of the Treasury  
Washington, D. C. 20220

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER;  
BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Dear Sir:

The information furnished herewith concerns an individual who is believed to be covered by the agreement between the FBI and Secret Service concerning Presidential protection, and to fall within the category or categories checked.

1. ☐ Has attempted or threatened bodily harm to any government official or employee, including foreign government officials residing in or planning an imminent visit to the U. S., because of his official status.
2. ☐ Has attempted or threatened to redress a grievance against any public official by other than legal means.
3. ☒ Because of background is potentially dangerous; or has been identified as member or participant in communist movement; or has been under active investigation as member of other group or organization inimical to U. S.
4. ☐ U. S. citizens or residents who defect from the U. S. to countries in the Soviet or Chinese Communist blocs and return.
5. ☒ Subversives, ultrarightists, racists and fascists who meet one or more of the following criteria:
  - (a) ☐ Evidence of emotional instability (including unstable residence and employment record) or irrational or suicidal behavior;
  - (b) ☐ Expressions of strong or violent anti-U. S. sentiment;
  - (c) ☒ Prior acts (including arrests or convictions) or conduct or statements indicating a propensity for violence and antipathy toward good order and government.
6. ☐ Individuals involved in illegal bombing or illegal bomb-making.

Photograph ☒ has been furnished ☐ enclosed ☐ is not available  
☐ may be available through \_\_\_\_\_

Very truly yours,

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
John Edgar Hoover  
Director

1 - Special Agent in Charge (Enclosure(s))  
U. S. Secret Service , Los Angeles (RM)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Enclosure(s)

(Upon removal of classified enclosures, if any, this transmittal form becomes UNCLASSIFIED.)



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Los Angeles, California  
December 31, 1968

DECLASSIFIED BY 60309 AUC TAM/MLT/  
ON 12-16-2005

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER-FUGITIVE  
RACIAL MATTERS-BLACK PANTHER PARTY;  
UNLAWFUL FLIGHT TO AVOID CONFINEMENT -  
ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO COMMIT MURDER

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
RACIAL MATTERS-BLACK PANTHER PARTY

On December 27, 1968, a source who has furnished  
reliable information in the past, advised that [REDACTED]

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On December 30, 1968, source advised that [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] San Francisco in  
[REDACTED] activities for the Newton-Cleaver Defense  
Committee.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 100-447251-268  
ENCLOSURE

Declassified by 4417  
on 12/16/16  
EAT/102

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The source advised, however, that

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This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

1

APPENDIX

BLACK PANTHER PARTY  
Also Known As  
Black Panther Party for Self Defense

A source advised that the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPPSD) was formed by HUEY PERCY NEWTON, Minister of Defense, and BOBBY GEORGE SEALE, Chairman, in December, 1966, as a militant black nationalist political organization to combat "police brutality", to unite militant black youth, and to determine the destiny of black communities. The political philosophy was taken from writings of Chairman MAO Tse-tung of Communist China and black militant writers.

In March, 1968, the name of the organization was changed to Black Panther Party (BPP).

The official BPP publication, "The Black Panther Party - Black Community News Service", states that the BPP advocates use of guns and guerrilla tactics in their violent revolutionary program to end oppression of black people.

On February 17, 1968, ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, Minister of Information, announced merger of the BPP and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and bestowed title of Minister of Justice, BPP, upon H. RAPP BROWN, Chairman of SNCC.

SNCC is a militant Negro organization which preaches black supremacy.

NEWTON, aforementioned, is incarcerated in the Alameda County Jail, Oakland, California, awaiting trial on charge of murder of an Oakland police officer.

Headquarters of BPP and Huey P. Newton Defense Fund are located at 4421 Grove Street, Oakland, California.

APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



FBI

Date: 1/6/69

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL AIR MAIL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-447251)  
FROM: SAC, LOS ANGELES (88-15756)(P)  
SUBJECT: LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - ✓ ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
FUGITIVE HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
I.O. #4239 DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
W.F. #447 TAM/MLT/EHL  
RM-BPP  
UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT  
TO COMMIT MURDER  
OO: San Francisco

Re Bureau airtel 1/2/69, with enclosures.

For the information of the Bureau, Washington Square Park Arch is a notorious hangout for New Left and "hippie" type individuals, located in New York City, New York. A review of the [redacted] enclosed with referenced airtel, indicates that the phrase "ELDRIDGE CLEAVER is alive and living in Washington Square Park Arch", is similar in type to the earlier phrase "Hitler is alive and living in Argentina", and in no way indicates that [redacted] knows the whereabouts of CLEAVER.

The Los Angeles Division is of the opinion that no purpose would be served in interviewing the [redacted] regarding CLEAVER's whereabouts. His letter casts serious doubts on his mental stability. The productivity of such an interview is doubtful, and could further disturb his psychological well-being.

3- Bureau  
1- San Francisco (100-55520)(Info)  
1- New York (Info)  
1- Los Angeles  
TMG:ssl  
(6)

REC 101

1 JAN 8 1969

FUG. SUP.

C. Bishop

Approved: WDB/box  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

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LA 88-15756

In view of the above, no further action is being taken by the Los Angeles Division in this matter, UACB.

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Los Angeles Office indices negative regarding

ARMED AND DANGEROUS. ✓

979602

VIA TELETYPE

JAN 3 1969

ENCIPHERED

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Bishop	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

WA-5  
8-10PM URGENT 1/3/69 CMC

TO DIRECTOR (100-44725) AND NEW YORK (100-161321) CODE

NEW YORK VIA WASHINGTON

FROM SAN FRANCISCO (88-12329) (P) 3P

LEROY ELDRIDGE CLEAVER - FUGITIVE, IO FOUR TWO THREE NINE,

WF FOUR FOUR SEVEN, RM - BPP; UFAC - ASSAULT WITH INTENT TO

COMMIT MURDER, OO SF.

FOLLOWING IS A BRIEF SUMMARY OF INFORMATION DEVELOPED,  
AN ANALYSIS OF WHICH INDICATES THE SUBJECT MAY BE IN NEW YORK  
CITY OR HAS RECENTLY BEEN THERE AND HAS ASSOCIATIONS THERE.

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A LOS ANGELES SOURCE ADVISED ON [REDACTED] THAT

[REDACTED] HAS SEEN SUBJECT WHILE IN  
NEW YORK CITY WITHIN THE PAST FEW DAYS

[REDACTED] 100-44725-1-270  
ADVISES THAT A SOURCE WHO HAS ALWAYS BEEN RELIABLE IN THE PAST  
TOLD HIM THAT THE SUBJECT [REDACTED]

JAN 8 1969

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END PAGE ONE

TELETYPED TO:

NY, FTB

XEROX

JAN 1969

59 JAN 1969

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED  
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED  
DATE 12-16-2005 BY 60309 AUC  
TAM/MLT/EHL

PAGE TWO

SF 88-12329

A SOURCE OF THE NEW HAVEN OFFICE HAS ADVISED THAT THE  
SUBJECT HAS IN THE PAST [REDACTED] IN NEW YORK CITY

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[REDACTED]  
[REDACTED] NEW YORK CITY, IS A CO SIGNER ON SUBJECT'S BOND  
WHICH WAS RECENTLY FORFEITED.

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THE MC GRAW HILL PUBLISHING CO. WHICH PUBLISHED THE  
SUBJECT'S BOOK "SOUL ON ICE" AND THE SUBJECT'S LITERARY AGENT,  
[REDACTED] ARE LOCATED IN NEW YORK CITY.

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ONE [REDACTED] A CLOSE FRIEND OF SUBJECT, IS BELIEVED  
TO BE IN THE NEW YORK AREA AT PRESENT TIME.

CHECK OF TOLL CALLS MADE FROM THE TELEPHONE LOCATED IN  
SUBJECT'S AUTO REFLECTS THAT ON OCTOBER SIXTEEN LAST A PHONE  
CALL WAS MADE FROM THIS NUMBER TO NEW YORK CITY PHONE [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED]  
A SOURCE OF THE NEW YORK OFFICE ADVISED ON [REDACTED]  
LAST THAT A NEW YORK BPP MEMBER HAD REMARKED AT NEW YORK THAT

b7D

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

SF 88-12329

HOWEVER, THIS SOURCE OPINED THAT SUBJECT HAD LEFT THE U.S. IT  
IS ALSO NOTED THAT [REDACTED]

b6  
b7C  
b7D

INFO IS ALSO BEING RECEIVED FROM SOURCES THAT THE SUBJECT  
IS EXPECTED TO LEAVE THE U.S. AND GO TO CUBA OR SOME OTHER  
COUNTRY. MAU

NEW YORK WILL CHECK LISTING FOR THE ABOVE PHONE NUMBER  
AND CONDUCT LOGICAL INVESTIGATION.

NEW YORK WILL CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN CLOSE CONTACT WITH  
PD, BPP SOURCES, AND OTHER MILITANT SOURCES AND WILL CONTACT  
COOPERATIVE SOURCES IN TV, PRESS, AND RADIO MEDIA AND CONTINUE  
TO MAINTAIN CLOSE LIAISON TO INSURE MAXIMUM COVERAGE OF ALL  
MODES OF TRANSPORT DEPARTING U.S. WILL INTENSIFY EFFORTS TO  
AFFORD LOGICAL COVERAGE OF KNOWN CONTACTS OF SUBJECT IN NEW  
YORK CITY.

ARMED AND EXTREMELY DANGEROUS.

END

WA...JDR R RELAY

FBI WZSH DC

cc. Mr. Sullivan